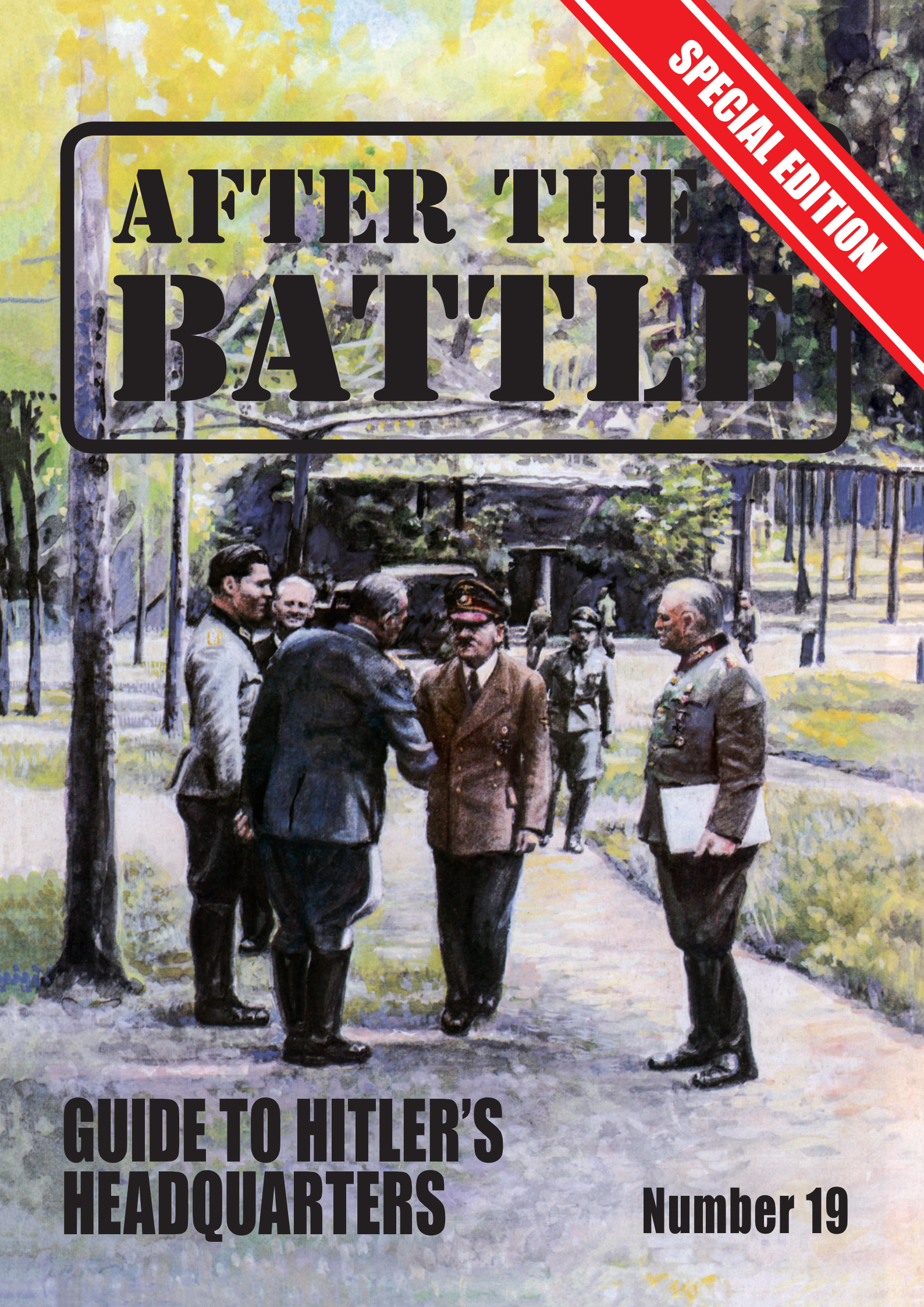
SPECIAL EDITION

AFTER THE BATTLE



GUIDE TO HITLER'S HEADQUARTERS

Number 19

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The complete text has been prepared by Dr. Raiber (except for the editor's comments on the western headquarters sites today) and the proofs have been vetted for accuracy by Professor Hoffmann. The Professor's own books, very relevant to this subject, are:-

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Front Cover: FHQu 'Wolfsschanze', July 15, 1944. From left to right: Oberst Claus von Stauffenberg, Konteradmiral Karl-Jesko von Puttkamer, General der Flieger Karl Bodenschatz (back to camera), Hitler, and Generalfeldmarschall Wilhelm Keitel meet between the Lagebaracke and Gaestebunker in the Fuehrersperrkreis before the afternoon Lagebesprechung. The view is looking east. In the centre distance (beyond the RSD officer walking toward the group) is the west face of the south wing of the Gaestebunker where Hitler lived in July 1944. Note the poles for suspension of camouflage nets. A little hill, origin and function unknown, now stands just this side of the truck and makes it impossible to obtain good photographs of the ruins of the west face of the Gaestebunker's south wing today. (Painting by George Campbell).

Centre Pages: Never previously published, this is a reproduction of a map of FHQu 'Wolfsschanze' as it was in October 1942, recently deposited by Herr Eduard Kiefer, a former Luftwaffe officer in the Fuehrer-Begleit-Batallion, in the Bundesarchiv, Freiburg im Breisgau.

Back Cover: 'Wolfsschanze' ruins, June 1966. A Polish guide demonstrates the thickness of Fuehrerbunker's collapsed double ceiling. The lower slab was probably the original roof over which outer shell (above) was later poured. A wall safe (empty), which may have once contained Adolf Hitler's private papers, was found by the Poles in one of the Fuehrerbunker's walls in 1969.

Unless otherwise stated, all wartime photographs are from the US National Archives Collection of Seized Enemy Records.

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THE FÜHRERHAUPTQUARTIERE

BY R. RAIBER, M.D.

The Führerhauptquartiere, officially abbreviated FHQu (Führer's Headquarters), were the various command posts from which Adolf Hitler directed the German effort in the Second World War. They ranged from the rather simple Führersonderzug, the Führer's special train, to the extensive, massive, reinforced concrete complex 'Wolfsschanze' in former East Prussia. Contrary to popular belief, the Führer spent very little time in Berlin after the war began, especially after June 1941, until its last few months.

At the outset, it is necessary to point out that the Führerhauptquartier never bore a relationship to the Oberste Heeresleitung, OHL (General Headquarters), the highest German military command center in World War I. In 1914, the Kaiser was nominally the Oberster Kriegsherr (Supreme War Lord) but was expected to act in that capacity in accordance with the professional advice of the Chef des Generalstabes des Feldheeres (Chief of the General Staff of the Field Army), the German Army's highest general. In practice the Kaiser recognized his own incompetence in generalship capabilities and interfered very little, initially, and later not at all, in the military sphere. Thus, in 1914-1918, OHL was the Army General Staff over which its Chef presided, and the Kaiser was scarcely more than its invited guest.

In 1939, the Chef des Generalstabes des Heeres, Chef Gen.St.d.H. (Chief of the General Staff of the Army) was no longer the Army's top general. He was now an adviser to the Oberbefehlshaber des Heeres, ObdH (Commander-in-Chief of the Army) in the Oberkommando des Heeres, OKH (High Command of the Army). Moreover, interposed between OKH and the Führer (who in 1935 had assumed the mantel of Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces) was a newly created, higher General Staff, the Oberkommando der Wehrmacht, OKW (Supreme Command of the Armed Forces). Its most important department was its Wehrmachtführungsamt, WFA, later Wehrmachtführungsstab, WFSt (Armed Forces Operations Office, later Staff). Presumably, the functions of OKW were to correlate and supervise the individual strategies as conceived and initiated by the three services, OKH, the Oberkommando der Marine, OKM (High Command of the Navy), and the Oberkommando der Luftwaffe, OKL (High Command of the Air Force).

Adolf Hitler, however, was no Kaiser Wilhelm II; although he chose to play very little part in the direction of military operations in the 1939 Polenfeldzug (campaign in Poland), this changed at the beginning of 1940. Thenceforth, he listened to the reports at the daily Lagebesprechungen (situation conferences) which had generally been prepared by the Wehrmachtführungs-

Hitler, Reichsleiter Martin Bormann (with goggles), and Generalmajor Erwin Rommel, Headquarters Kommandant, at Maslowie airfield fourteen kilometers north-east of Kielce, Poland on September 10, 1939. Note the 'Fuehrerhauptquartier' cuffband on Rommel's left arm, not worn in the field after this campaign.

stab, elicited and weighed the responses of the service professionals who participated in the discussions which followed, and then announced his decisions. OKW became little more than a secretariat which translated these decisions into Orders or Directives which the General Staffs of the services were then obliged to process for execution. Chef des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht, not Chef des Generalstabes des Heeres, served as the Führer's Chief of Staff. By 1941, Adolf Hitler was Kriegsherr to an extent to which the Kaiser could never have aspired.

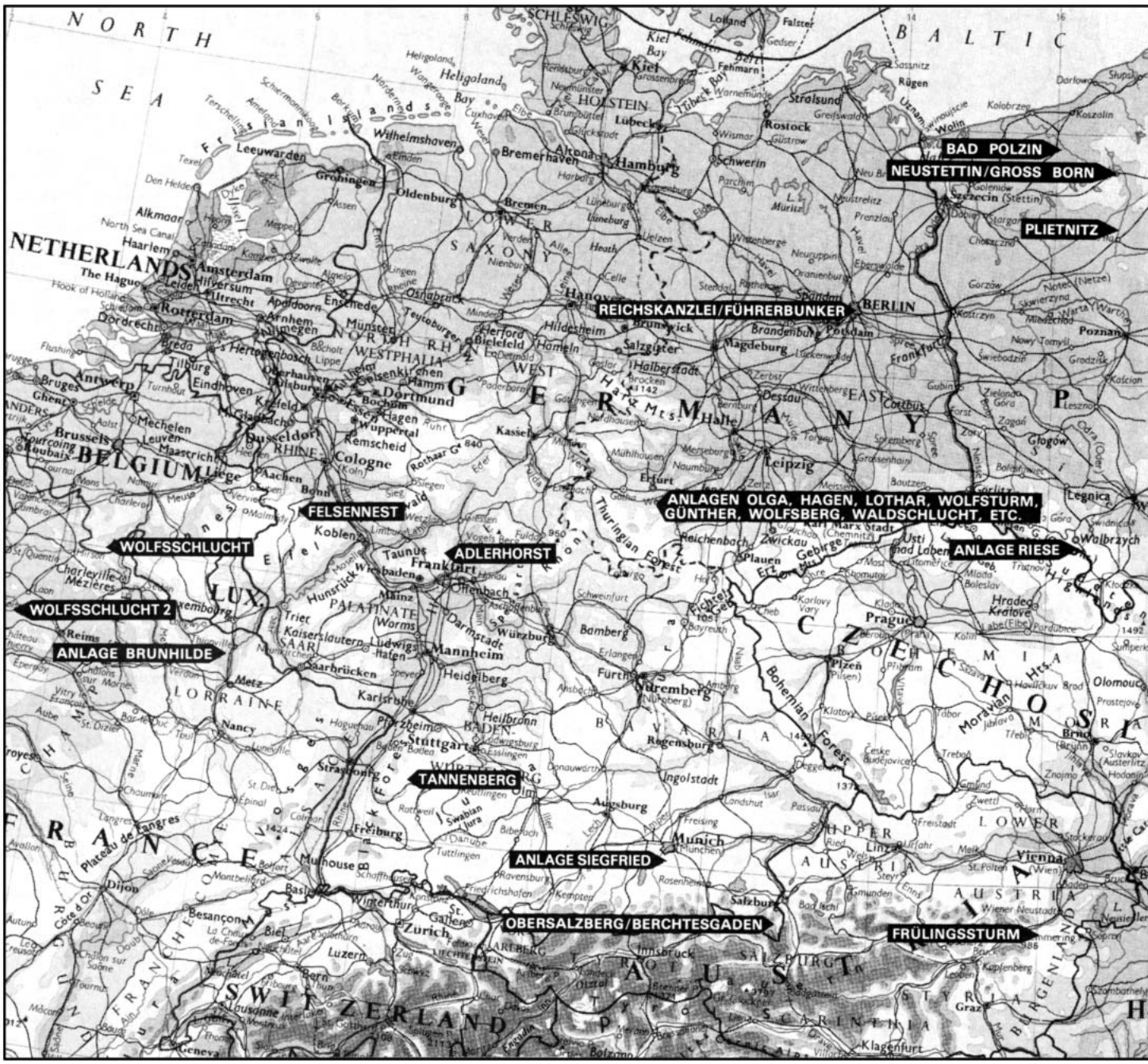
Thus, the Führerhauptquartier was Adolf Hitler, the OKW, the service liaison officers to the Führer, and his service and personal adjutants. OKH, OKM, and OKL were the 'invited guests' to the Führerhauptquartier, and often they were physically located many kilometers distant.

Illnau, Silesia, September 12, 1939: *Top:* **Joachim von Ribbentrop, Hitler, and Walther Hewel, the Foreign Minister's envoy to the Fuehrerhauptquartier, confer beside the Fuehrersonderzug parked on a siding.** *Above:* **Later that day Generaloberst Keitel uses a map to explain the situation to Generalfeldmarschall Goering who visited the train. Generalmajor Jodl's face appears just behind Keitel's shoulder.**

The Führersonderzug

The Führersonderzug was the first Führerhauptquartier, remaining so throughout the campaign in Poland except for a short interval. Apparently there were then no plans to construct any stationary facilities, and one reason for this may have been the need for a Führerhauptquartier which could be shifted very rapidly to the West if necessary. As the French might attack the weakly defended Westwall, while the bulk of the Wehrmacht was occupied in Poland, only the Führersonderzug could then provide the means for Hitler to shuttle back and forth from east to west as the occasion might demand.

The train departed from Berlin at 9.00 p.m. on Sunday evening, September 3, 1939, three days after the campaign had begun. Hitler, some of his close associates, the OKW leadership, the Führer's adjutants, and a close security detail, the Kriminalkommando, were aboard. The Kriminalkommando was composed of former professional detectives of the Reichssicherheitsdienst, or RSD, the security service which provided protection for high Nazi officials. Its Dienststelle I (Agency I) was assigned to guard the Führer. When the detachment also included a unit from the SS-Begleitkommando (SS Escort Detachment) it was known as the Führer-Begleit-Kommando. It arrived at the station in Bad Polzin, Pomerania, about 225 kilometers north-east of Berlin, at 1.56 a.m. on September 4. The Ministerzug (Ministers' Train), carrying von Ribbentrop and Himmler, following it arrived fourteen minutes later. The two trains remained in the station through the night under the protection of Generalmajor Erwin Rommel's Führer-Begleit-Bataillon (FBB). This regular German Army unit was derived chiefly from the Berlin Wachregiment, its anti-aircraft components coming from the Luftwaffe Regiment 'General Göring'. It provided perimeter security on Führer escort and at the Führerhauptquartiere. Next day, the Führersonderzug moved to Plietnitz, Pomerania, south of Neustettin. The Führer, who earlier that morning had left by automobile column to tour the German Fourth Army area of operations, returned to it that evening. A few hours later it moved (for



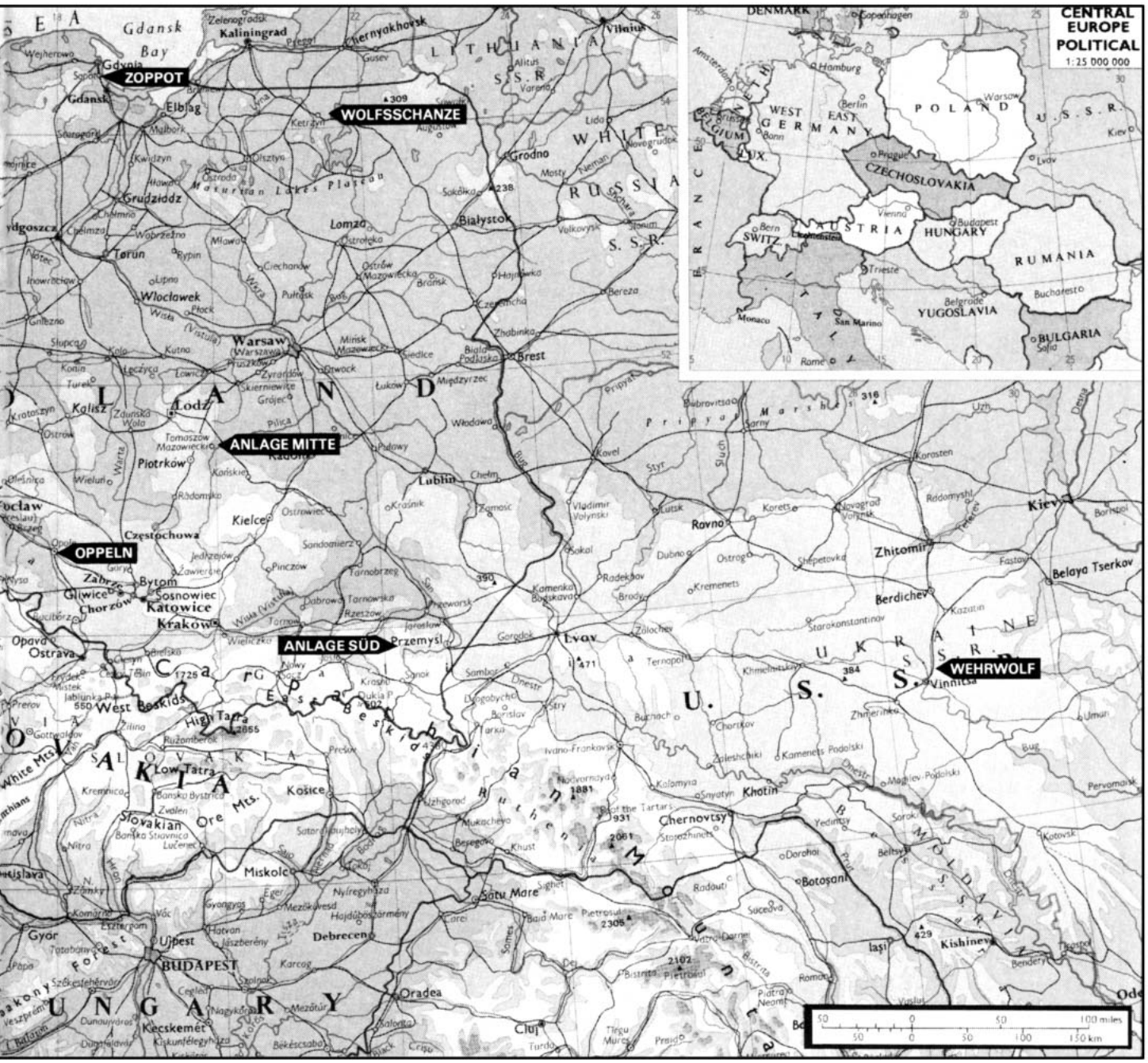
security reasons) to a small station fifteen kilometers south of Plietnitz where it stayed throughout the night.

The Führersonderzug has rightly been called a 'bewegliches Hauptquartier' (a mobile headquarters) during this period. Although the Westfront did not become active as feared might happen, and the Führer was able to devote his attention entirely to operations in Poland, this was only the first of several movements the train made so that Hitler could more readily visit sectors in which he was interested. On September 5 it traveled north-west to the Gross Born Truppenübungsplatz (Troop Training Area) south-west of Neustettin; on September 8 it shifted far south to Ilnau, north-east of Oppeln in Silesia, and on September 13 it was in Gogolin, south of Oppeln. Finally, on September 18, it was switched north again to Goddentow-Lanz, near Lauenburg in the extreme north-east of Pomerania, about 65 kilometers north-west of Danzig.

On September 19, the Führerhauptquartier transferred, for the first time during the campaign, from the Führersonderzug (which remained at Goddentow-Lanz) to the Kasino Hotel on Nordstrasse in Zoppot, a few kilometers west of Danzig. There Hitler occupied rooms 251, 252, and 253 in the hotel. From this base, as he had earlier from the Führersonderzug, he continued to visit the areas of military operations nearly every day by automobile column or by air. Late in the afternoon of September 25, with all organized Polish resistance crushed, the Führer returned to his Sonderzug. Departing next morning, he arrived back in Berlin at 5.05 p.m. on September 26, 1939.

Composition of the wartime Führersonderzug probably did not change appreciably through the years. No document describing its exact components in September 1939 is available, but the elements of 'Bln 2009' (which departed Anhalter Bahnhof in Berlin at 12.30 p.m. on June 23, 1941 and arrived at the Görlitz Forest east of Rastenburg, East Prussia at 1.30 a.m. June 24) are known: Behind two locomotives in tandem came a special Flakwagen (armoured railroad car), each end of which was open for anti-aircraft platforms. These were manned by Luftwaffe personnel of the II.-Eisenbahn-Flakzug (2nd Railroad Anti-aircraft Platoon) attached to the Führer-Begleit-Bataillon. The I.-Eisenbahn-Flakzug provided similar service for the Ministerzug. In 1940, the single-barrel 2cm M-1930 guns originally mounted on the Flakwagen had been replaced by four-barrel 2cm M-1938 canons. Next came a baggage car followed by the Führerwagen for Hitler's personal use and then a Befehlswagen (command car). This included a conference room with map tables and a compartment for the communications center. Next came a Begleitkommandowagen for the Führer-Begleit-Kommando, a dining car, two cars for guests, a Badewagen (bathing car), another dining car, two sleeping cars for enlisted personnel, a Pressewagen (car for the press), another baggage car, and finally a second Flakwagen.

Generals Keitel and Jodl of the OKW were quartered aboard the Führersonderzug in September 1939; later each had his own Sonderzug. But OKH, ostensibly the German Army's central nervous system, which had moved in late August 1939 from its Bendlerstrasse home in Berlin to the wartime facility constructed for it at Zossen, south of the Reichshauptstadt, was represented on board



Post-war map of Central Europe indicating Hitler's various 1939-45 headquarters (Copyright George Philip & Son Ltd.).

the train by Gerhard Engel, the Führer's Heeresadjutant (Army Adjutant). At that time, he was a mere Hauptmann. Thus, the two top OKH generals at that time, Generaloberst Walther von Brauchitsch (Oberbefehlshaber des Heeres), and General der Artillerie Franz Halder (Chef des Generalstabes des Heeres), were separated from the Führer and were able to meet with him on only a few occasions through the entire duration of the Polenfeldzug!

The obvious disadvantages of the Führersonderzug as a Führerhauptquartier were recognized. Even before conclusion of the fighting in Poland, the construction of facilities in the West was discussed, and teams were soon sent out into western Germany to search for suitable sites. In October 1939, the Ziegenberg estate in the Taunus mountains near Bad Nauheim, north-west of Frankfurt am Main, was chosen and extensive construction begun there. Within the next month another, more northern location was found near the little hamlet of Rodert, east of Münstereifel and south-west of Cologne. At about the same time a third locus in southern Germany (probably later FHQu 'Tannenberg' in the Black Forest described subsequently) was inspected, approved, and work started on installations.

Ultimately all three places would be used as Führerhauptquartiere, although not as initially conceived. By far the most extensive work was carried out at Ziegenberg. No doubt it would have been used by the Führer if the German attack in the West could have been launched according to plan in late 1939. However, circumstances — chiefly involving unfavourable weather — rendered this impossible. When Hitler later had an opportunity to review the construction sketches he noted that the Castle at Ziegenberg had been reserved for his personal use. He objected strongly, making it quite clear that he had no intention of using such 'luxurious' accommodation during a campaign while the German soldier had to cope with the hardships of life in the field. Moreover, by February 1940, it had become clear that the Ziegenberg facilities, particularly the communications installations, would not be completed in time. Nevertheless work continued, probably including the building in that period of several simple but very heavily roofed and walled bunkers near Wiesental, about two kilometers north-west of Schloss Ziegenberg, which were spartan enough to meet with the Führer's approval.

Meanwhile, construction also went on at the Rodert site, initially Anlage 'Rodert', or Anlage 'R' (Camp Rodert), especially after January 1940 when 'Fall Gelb', (Case Yellow), the operational plan for the 1940 German offensive in the West, was definitely postponed until spring. And thus it was that the Führersonderzug 'Amerika', as it was now called, brought the Führer to the railroad station at Euskirchen, north of Rodert /Münstereifel, instead of to Ziegenberg, early on May 10, 1940. Met by a detachment from the Führer-Begleit-Bataillon, the Führer proceeded by automobile column and arrived at Anlage 'Rodert', now known as FHQu 'Felsennest' (Rocky Nest) 5.00 a.m. The Führersonderzug 'Amerika' then went on to park at a siding in Heusenstamm, south-east of Frankfurt am Main.

Above: **Hitler is driven in one of the 'three axle' Mercedes through Rodert. The woman with the camera on the left, Frau Maria Bresgn, still lives in the village and** *(below)* **replays the past for our photograph.**

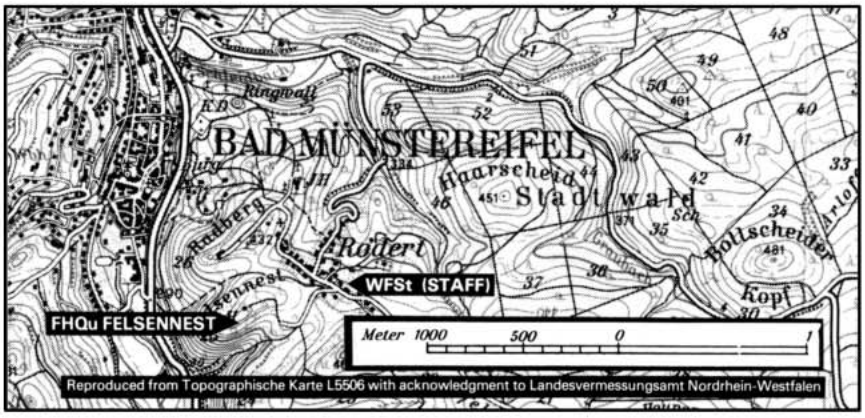
FHQu 'Felsennest'

Sperrkreis I (Security Zone I) at FHQu 'Felsennest' was in a copse of woods crowning a hill about 300 meters above Rodert. It was encircled by a chain-link fence overlooked at intervals by wooden sentry towers perched on high wooden legs. The heaviest construction was the Führer's bunker which was quite small, especially when compared to his bunkers at FHQu 'Wolfsschanze' and under the Berlin Reichskanzlei. Attached to it was a building for the adjutants. The other Sperrkreis I structures, including the 'Felsennest' Lagebaracke (a barracks-type building or hut where the situation conferences were held), were of varying construction. Part of the Führerhauptquartier (Sperrkreis II), including Oberst Walter Warlimont's Abteilung Landesverteidigung, or Abteilung L (National Defence Branch, probably the most important group within the Wehrmachtführungsstab), was dispersed in the village of Rodert.

The weather throughout May 1940 remained sunny, ideal for military operations, with rain falling only on the 29th. Thus Hitler was able to spend much time out of doors beside his bunker which was draped with camouflage nets. It is quite evident from the many photographs taken there at that period that FHQu 'Felsennest' was very primitive in accordance with the Führer's wishes.

Von Ribbentrop and Himmler visited 'Felsennest' from the Ministerzug (now called 'Heinrich'), which they still shared at this time. It remained east of the Rhine in the Altenkirchen/Flammersfeld area, south-west of Siegburg. OKH was established at Forsthaus von Haniel, about eight kilometers from 'Felsennest', and was visited by the Führer on May 11. Beginning at this time, the Führer involved himself more and more in the detailed conduct of the military operations, and eventually few decisions were made without his prior concurrence.

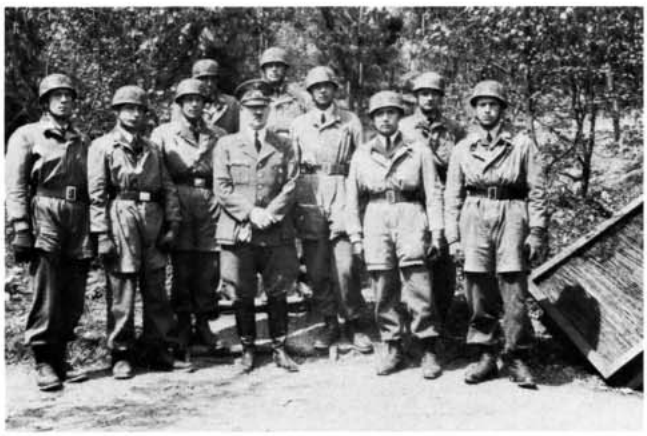
On May 17, Hitler flew (from Odendorf, the 'Felsennest' aerodrome north-east of Mün-



Above left: **Hitler and his Wehrmacht Adjutant, Oberst Rudolf Schmundt approaching the dining room/WC area. The main Sperrkreis I gate to Fuehrerhauptquartier 'Felsennest' can be seen in the distance.** *Above right:* **The editor's son follows the same route although all but a short stretch of the old road has now been completely obliterated.**

Left: **The camouflaged dining room with the garage beyond on the skyline. Rudolf Schmundt is behind Hitler's left shoulder.** *Above:* **The same path, barely recognisable as the same one today.**

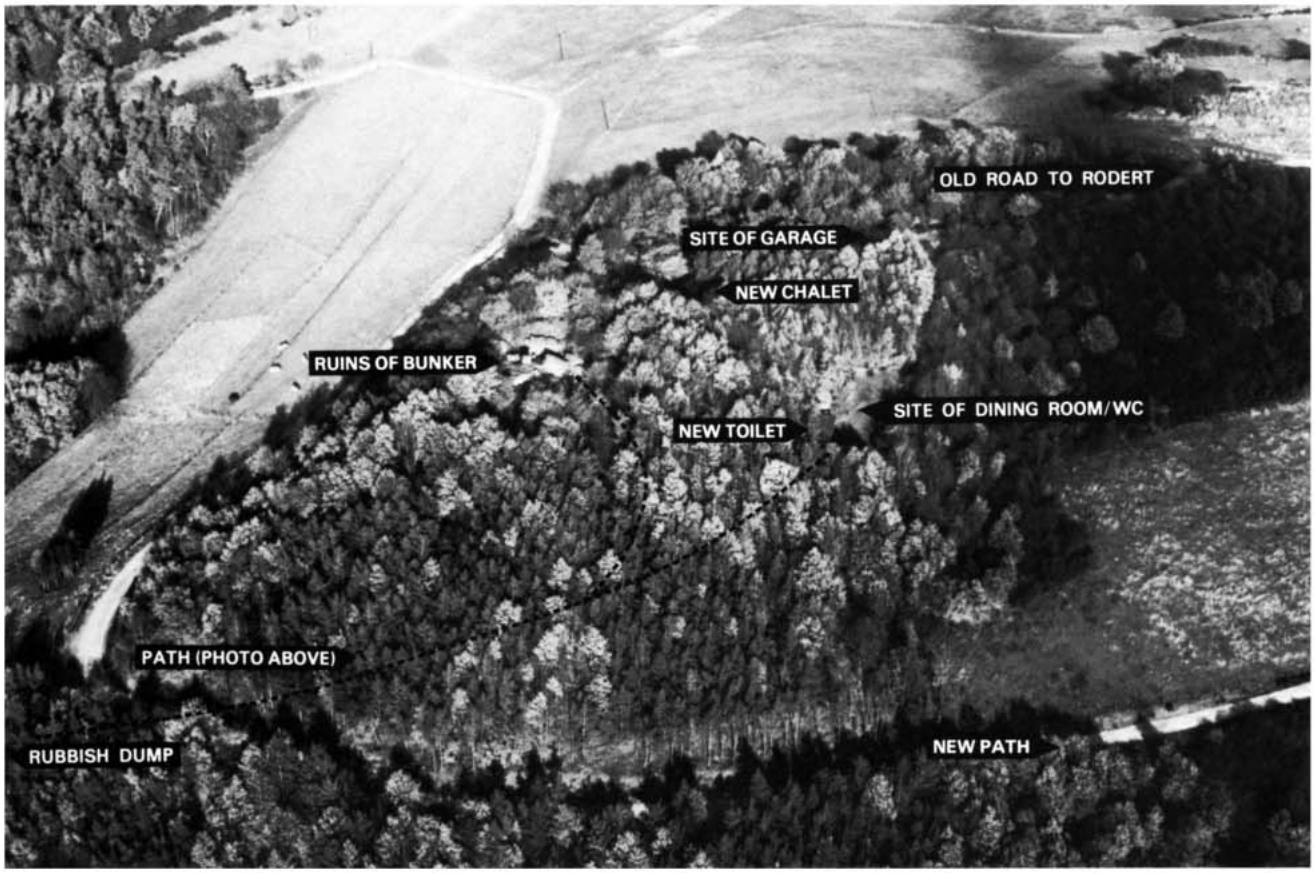
Left: **General der Artillerie Fritz Fromm, Chief of the Reserve Army, reports to Hitler. Hauptmann Gerhard Engel, Army Adjutant, is between them and Schmundt (hatless) is behind Fromm.** *Above:* **The same path, which leads up to the bunker ruins (signposted 'Blockhaus' in the German photo).**



Above left: **Fallschirmjaeger members of Assault Force Granite which stormed Fort Eben-Emael in the early hours of May 10, 1940 (see *After the Battle,* No. 5) pose with Hitler just before receiving their Ritterkreuz decorations.** *Above right:* **Today, the same place is overgrown and hardly recognisable as the historic spot of 1940. No trace remains of the little wooden steps.**

Above: **Another view of the parachutists at the decoration ceremony. They had landed on the fort's roof in gliders while an engineer unit attacked across the Albert Canal in rubber boats. The 'impregnable' Fort Eben-Emael fell in just 28 hours.** *Below left:* **This is the present-day comparison of the same spot and** *(below right)* **the photograph taken by the editor's camera.**

Left: **A good view of the surrounding countryside could be gained from 'Felsennest' hill.** *Above:* **One of the new gravel paths is just visible behind the original one in this 1977 reconstruction.**



Above: **Our aerial photograph, taken in November 1977 of the overgrown 'Felsennest' hill, gives an idea of the problem we had identifying the sites today. The path visible in the picture is a recent construction. Two more of the post-war hikers paths, which now criss-cross the area, are shown in the photo** *below right.* **We deliberately chose this angle (which does not correspond exactly to the one of Hitler's party descending the hill to walk to Rodert village,** *below left*) **to show both new and original paths. The editor's son walks on the old path in the opposite direction to Hitler.**

stereifel) to visit Gerd von Rundstedt, who was Oberbefehlshaber (Commanding General) of Heeresgruppe A, or H.Gr. A (Army Group A), located then at Bastogne, Belgium. A few days later (on May 24), he saw von Rundstedt again, by then on the Meuse River, when the famous 'stop' order was given to the Panzer divisions poised to smash the British pocket at Dunkirk — thus saving the BEF to fight another day.

On June 1, with the Wehrmacht victorious in the first phase of the campaign, a jubilant Adolf Hitler, accompanied by his cronies, flew to Brussels. Then they toured, by automobile column, southern Belgium and northern France, visiting some of the Army and Corps commanders as well as sites where the Führer had served in the First World War. He stayed overnight on June 1/2 in the Chateau de Brigode at Annappes, a few kilometers east of Lille, France and returned to 'Felsennest' on the 2nd.

'FELSENNEST' TODAY

On June 11, 1940, 'Felsennest' was handed over for safe-keeping to a Wachkommando from VI Army Corps. In January 1941, preparations for its takeover by the National Socialist Party began as it was Hitler's expressed wish that the site be preserved un-

Above: **Hitler and his adjutants continue their walk to Rodert. Engel walks at Hitler's right. Behind Engel's right shoulder is SS-Untersturmfuehrer Hansgeorg Schulze, SS Adjutant. Hauptmann Nicolaus von Below (Luftwaffe Adjutant) is behind Hitler's left shoulder.** *Below:* **Incredibly, we found the same spot today. Part of the old road is just visible by the editor's left elbow.**

Left: **They have just passed through Sperrkreis I gate. SA-Obergruppenfuehrer Wilhelm Brueckner (Hitler's Chief Adjutant at that time) is behind Hitler's left shoulder, and Schmundt walks at Hitler's left.** *Right:* **When we visited 'Felsennest' in April 1977, it took us more than a day to determine the exact locations of the original German photographs to our satisfaction.**

Left: **After negotiating the old hairpin bend (which still exists but is no longer used) the group passes a Schlagbaum on the east/west road running through Rodert.** *Right:* **The new post-war road, eliminating the bend, starts on the right.**

changed as an historical monument so that it could be visited by future generations. Unfortunately Hitler's wish was made at a time when the German Armies seemed invincible; by the spring of 1945, with the imminent arrival of V Corps troops of the US Third Army, it was blown up by the Wehrmacht before being abandoned. Only a gutted, reinforced concrete ruin was left for the GIs and future generations!

With this in mind, we were still enthusiastic as we crossed the Eifel mountains to 'Felsennest' and approached the nearby village of Rodert. There, we soon matched up a picture of Hitler driving up the main street, tracing one of the girls in the photograph who still lives in the same house and who kindly agreed to wave to the After the Battle 'Führer'.

However, when we reached the beginning of the road to 'Felsennest' itself, everything started to go wrong. Although we had a series of photographs of Hitler and Co. walking down the road from his HQ to the village, a road only three or four hundred yards long, we just could not match up the pictures. We spent the next six hours fruitlessly looking for comparisons, first by driving (before being warned off by a forest warden that all cars were 'verboten' beyond the village) and then by walking around the multitude of paths which surround the 'Felsennest' hill.

It was not until we spoke to a local farmer (who had watched our antics all day!) that we discovered that in 1974 the old road was completely obliterated and re-routed. The reason given to us was that it made his field fifty metres larger although it consequently reduced the size of the adjacent field by the same amount! A more plausible reason (not without a touch of Teutonic humour) would seem that the road was straightened, tarmacadamed and then closed to traffic!

Once the farmer had pointed out the line of the original road, everything fell into place. The position of the gate to the outer perimeter chain-link fence (remains of which we had already discovered in some bushes) was now located right in the middle of his ploughed field and, from this angle, a few metres of the old overgrown track at the bottom of the hillside made sense. The farmer explained that all the present wide, gravel paths had only been laid down recently to accommodate hikers and one new path now completely encircles the hill.

Having oriented ourselves properly, with raised spirits we walked up to the huge, smashed bunker on top of the hill. Here, the centre of the ruin has been hollowed out to accommodate a circular campfire which gives the area an intense atmosphere of a Druid Götterdämmerung. It was now clear to us that none of the photographs we had of Hitler at 'Felsennest' had been taken near the bunker.

Next to the bunker, a wooden, chalet-type rest hut has since been constructed and behind this, down a steep path, are elaborate toilet facilities and the track from this area joined the original overgrown one we had lined up from the field. All the pictures now fell into place. This toilet area was the one where the Eben-Emael Fallschirmjäger had been decorated and where most of the other photographs had been taken.

Above: **American troops examine the ruins of the demolished Fuehrerbunker on 'Felsennest' hill after its capture.** *Below:* **The ruin has been left largely as it was in 1945 — except for a camp fire in the centre.**

Although the two little wooden steps, on which Hitler stood, have disappeared, by following this narrow path (almost invisible if one does not know exactly where to find it), we determined the location of several other pictures. By continuing down this path, beyond the new gravel track which crosses it and so obliterates about twenty feet of it completely, we found what can only be described as an old rubbish tip. There are the remains of brick foundations in the undergrowth and nearby, rotting timbers, linoleum and other rusted objects would seem to be all that is left of the contents of the FHQu buildings when they were cleared from the hillside above.

NEAREST CONVENIENT HOTEL

Park Hotel, Kurpark Schleidtal, Bad Münstereifel, 5358, West Germany.
Telephone: 02253 925/926

FHQu 'Wolfsschlucht'

Top: **Organisation Todt workmen begin to convert the small six-building village of Bruly-de-Pesche into FHQu 'Wolfsschlucht' — work which included removal of the church spire.** *Above:* **The Hotel de la Fontaine (formerly the 'Wolfspalast') stands on the right of the village, virtually unchanged today.**

On May 20, the Panzer divisions had reached Abbeville, thus extending the German armoured corridor to the Channel coast and splitting the Western Allies into two parts. Even before this, however, with the Wehrmacht advance proceeding at such an unexpectedly rapid pace, the Führer had been pushing to relocate the Führerhauptquartier further west, nearer the action. On May 19, a sector of fortifications east of Avesnes, south of Maubeuge on the French/Belgian border (which the Wehrmacht had overrun the day before), had been investigated for that purpose but ultimately rejected because its bunker was not suitable. Three days later, the tiny Belgian village of Brûly-de-Pesche, about 25 kilometers north-west of Charleville, was selected, and shortly afterwards the local population was evacuated and construction begun.

A photograph taken at Brûly during the construction shows workmen of the Organisation Todt (a German para-military labor force named after its first leader, Dr. Fritz Todt, builder of Germany's pre-war Autobahnen) laying a reinforced concrete floor. This may have been the foundation for the Führer's bunker; if so, this photograph is the only known one in existence showing the actual construction of a Führerbunker. However, this structure was never used by the Führer. It is reported he preferred to remain out in the open whenever enemy aircraft approached the region rather than expose himself to the swarms of insects which infested the thicket surrounding the bunker. This held true even when, on at least one occasion, the RAF, unaware of its significance, dropped a few bombs on the Führerhauptquartier and its environs. A residence for the Führer (Führerwohnung) — telephone number 4021 — as well as a Kasino and a few other lightly-constructed buildings were erected near the bunker in a small wood just west of the village of Brûly. The village church (from which part of the steeple was removed in an effort to disguise the village but later replaced) and

Left: **The men unload spools of communication cable in front of the latrine building behind the school house — a building as essential in early June 1940 as on a wet and stormy day in April 1977** *(right).*

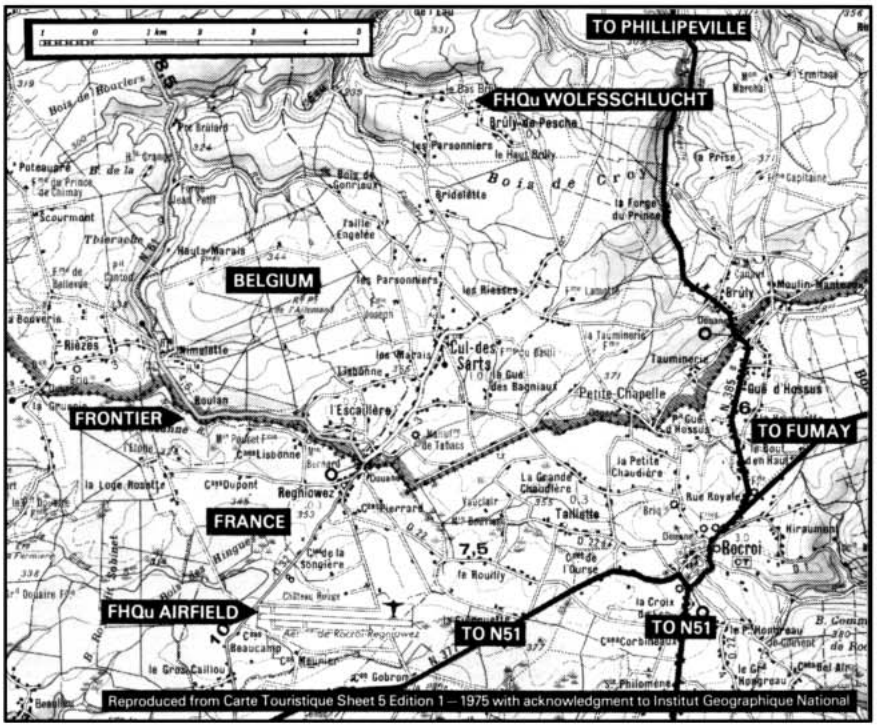
Left: **The Organisation Todt workmen dig a trench in preparation for the laying of communication cables.** *Above:* **Even the tree stands today just as in 1940.**

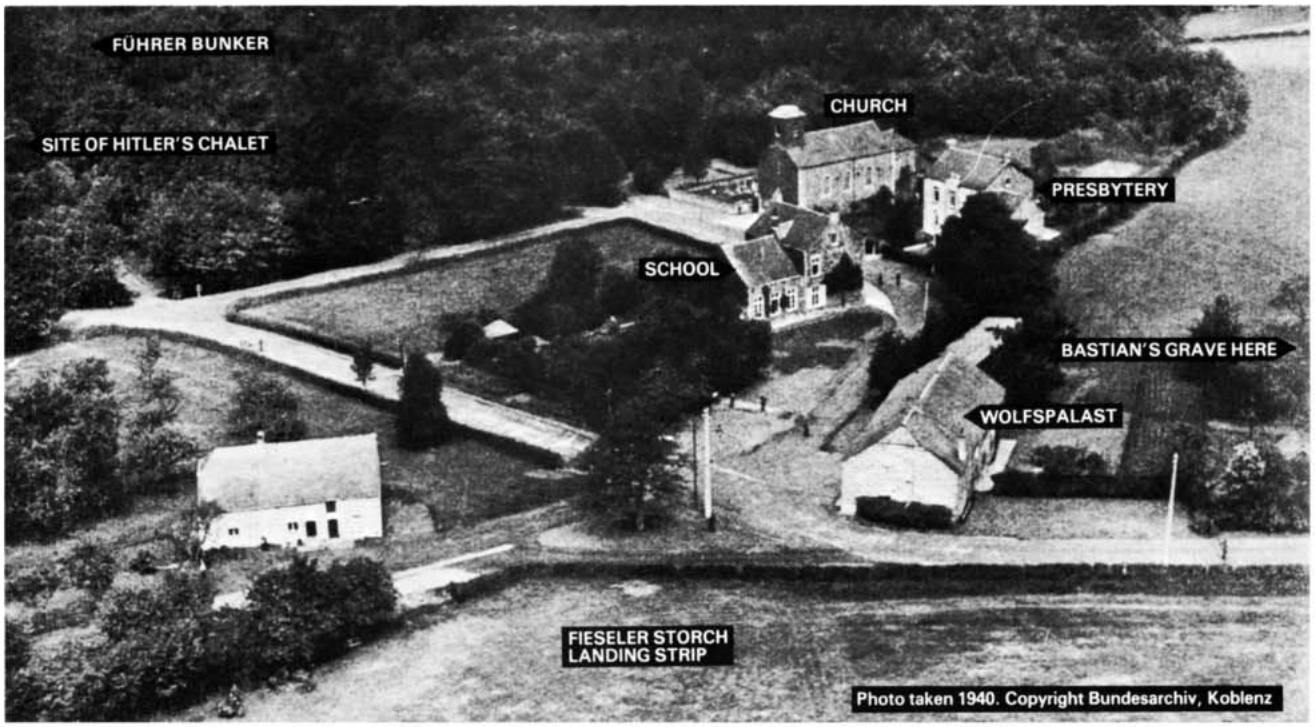
school were used as offices by the Führerhauptquartier. There was also a second Kasino and bunker, and a landing strip for Fieseler Storch light observation aircraft was located in a meadow south of the village. A barbed-wire barrier surrounded the compound.

The Führerhauptquartier moved from FHQu 'Felsennest' on June 6, 1940, the Führer departing by air from Odendorf. Upon his arrival at Brûly (at 1.30 p.m. on June 6, 1940), Hitler promptly changed the code-name of his new Führerhauptquartier from Anlage 'Waldwiese' (Camp Forest Meadow) to FHQu 'Wolfsschlucht' or 'Wolfschlucht' (Wolf's Glen). In the early days of the NSDAP he had been known as 'Herr Wolf', and now his predilection for the term was reflected in the application of it to the code-names for his Führerhauptquartiere. The village inn at Brûly, taken over as a residence for some of the Führerhauptquartier staff, was known as the 'Wolfspalast' (Wolf's Palace).

The OKH was situated at Forges, a small village just south of Chimay, Belgium, about fifteen kilometers north-west of Brûly-de-Pesche, as well as in Chimay itself and the neighboring hamlets. On June 6, Sonderzug 'Heinrich' moved from Altenkirchen/Flammersfeld, Germany to the Gendron/Celles area south-east of Dinant, Belgium, but 'Amerika' remained at Heusenstamm/Frankfurt am Main.

Operation 'Rot' (Red), the second phase of





the German campaign, had begun on June 5, and the Wehrmacht swept southward like a hurricane through France. On June 12, with the fall of Paris imminent (*it was occupied by German troops on June 14; see After the Battle No. 14*), a search party located a suitable site for yet another battle headquarters for the Führer at the southern end of a railroad tunnel at Rilly/Germaine, south of Reims, France. Dr. Todt inspected the region on June 16 and gave directions for the beginning of construction there.

A train enters the tunnel at Rilly/Germaine, surveyed site for another 1940 HQ.

Above: **The workmen begin the construction of Hitler's FHQu 'Wolfsschlucht' Fuehrerbunker (which he never used).** *Below:* **Today the bunker, owned by the Comte d'Oultremont, is the only building to be seen intact and undamaged, at any of Hitler's wartime headquarters.**

However, this facility was never to be used as a Führerhauptquartier. On June 16, Hitler was driven to Schloss Acoz, south-east of Charleroi, Belgium to meet General Vignon, Chief of the Spanish General Staff. Next morning, the French government asked, through Spanish channels, for armistice terms. Upon receipt of this request at the Foreign Office in Berlin, it was immediately relayed to Walther Hewel, von Ribbentrop's envoy at the Führerhauptquartier.

A German film cameraman (Walter Frentz) captured the precise instant at FHQu 'Wolfsschlucht' in Brûly when Hewel joyfully passed the intelligence on to the Führer. Hitler, momentarily ecstatic upon hearing the glad tidings, raised his right leg and brought it down sharply, thus stamping his foot. When this film was released outside Germany, a Canadian official and film technician, John Grierson, perceived how he might score a propaganda success. By looping and duplicating the relevant frames, he was able to convert the incident into the famous 'Führer jig', thus making Hitler appear somewhat ridiculous in Western newsreels. Although the perpetrator of this deception subsequently exposed his trick in 'Esquire' magazine twenty years ago, one still reads, occasionally even from historians of considerable repute who

Left and above: **It does not do to be thirsty in Bruly-de-Pesche today: the pump no longer works and the tank is empty.**

Film clip from Walter Frentz' sequence taken at 'Wolfsschlucht' the instant Hitler was told the French had requested an armistice on June 17, 1940. It was later re-cut to create the famous 'Fuehrer jig'.

Above: Hitler discusses situation with Martin Bormann and Rudolf Hess, the Deputy Fuehrer (in long leather coat), on the path leading from the village square to his chalet. *Below:* Today, the former Fuehrerhauptquartier is preserved by the Belgians as 'vestiges historiques'.

Above: An artist, Ernst Vollbehr, gives a good impression of the layout: Hitler's chalet is under his brush on the left, the bunker is on the right, and the fountain of Sainte Meer is in the centre beside the table and chairs.

Above: Hitler appears to be bored by the document Himmler shows him. *Right:* The same spot today. *Below:* Even traces of the white blackout ring painted on one of the trees are still visible.

Above: Hitler and Generaloberst Keitel confer. Hitler's chalet in background was demolished when the site was evacuated on June 26. *Above right:* Tickets may now be purchased at this kiosk to visit 'Hitler's bunker'.

Above: Otto Dietrich, Reich Press Chief, studies a report. Heinrich Hoffmann stands on the right. *Below:* A small terrace has since been added to the hotel.

Above: Hitler poses with Fuehrerhauptquartier enlisted personnel in front of the 'Wolfspalast'. *Below:* After the war the hotel proprietor, Monsieur Metons-Hosselet, blocked up the barn door to provide extra accommodation and, although post-war alterations have helped to disguise the exterior, the similarity still remains today.

Hitler discusses the current situation with Rudolf Hess, Martin Bormann, and Generaloberst Keitel. On the extreme right is SS-Hauptsturmfuehrer Max Wuensche, one of Hitler's SS Adjutants.

Hitler, whose poor eyesight was not publicised, uses a magnifying glass to mark a detail on a situation map.

should know better, how the Führer 'danced' in June 1940. Sometimes the myth is even further compounded by authorities of equal stature who would have us believe this 'victory jig' took place at Compiegne at the time of the armistice ceremony!

Later that day (June 17) the Führer flew to Frankfurt, and, boarding Führersonderzug 'Amerika', arrived in Munich at mid-day on June 18 for consultation with Mussolini at the Führerbau (Führer Building). He then returned to 'Wolfsschlucht' at 2.15 p.m. on June 19.

On June 21, 1940, Hitler was driven to the forest of Compiegne, north-east of Paris (*see After the Battle No. 14*). There, in the same railway car used for the capitulation of Germany to the Western Allies in 1918, it was the turn of France to prostrate herself. Displaying gross contempt and disdain, the Führer stayed only for the reading of the document's preamble by Generaloberst Keitel and was back in 'Wolfsschlucht' by 8.00 p.m.

Hitler visited Paris, the pearl of his conquest, only once: He departed from 'Wolfsschlucht' by air at 4.05 a.m. on June 23 and, after a whirlwind tour, had returned to Brûly by 10.30 a.m. the same day! Martin Bormann was one of those who went with the Führer to Paris although he had already spent the entire day there (June 15) after its occupation by the Wehrmacht less than 24 hours earlier.

On June 25/26, Hitler was off again by automobile column to revisit areas with which he had been familiar in the First World War. Max Amann and Ernst Schmidt, two of his comrades in that conflict, joined the usual entourage for these travels. Hitler then decided to inspect First World War battlefields as well as captured Maginot Line fortifications to the south in Alsace. To accommodate him, the Führerhauptquartier was transported to the facilities which had been prepared for it earlier in the Black Forest. Departing by air at 8.00 a.m. on June 28 from Gros-Caillou, about fifteen kilometers south of Brûly, one of the landing fields serving FHQu 'Wolfsschlucht' (the other was at Cul-de-Sarts, between Brûly and Gros-Caillou), he flew to Eutingen, east of Freudenstadt. He was then driven to Anlage 'Tannenberg', or 'T' (Fir Mountain), now FHQu 'Tannenberg' situated about two kilometers north of Alexanderschanze on the Kniebis, arriving 11.00 a.m.

'WOLFSSCHLUCHT' TODAY

The selection of the small Belgian village of Brûly-de-Pesche, for Hitler's western front headquarters, could not have been better. It would be difficult to find a more secluded, and therefore secure, location. The village is located in the depths of the Fôret de Gondreux and, except for the addition of a cafe to cater for visiting tourists, can be seen today exactly as it was when Hitler was there in 1940.

The village, which was composed of only five buildings and a church, was taken over completely by the Germans on May 22, 1940. In the forest nearby was a fountain shrine to Sainte Meér and it was here that Hitler's chalet and nearby air-raid bunker were constructed. The present Hotel de la Fontaine (owned then as now by Monsieur J: Métons-Hosselet) became a combined signals centre and living quarters entitled 'Wolfspalast'. The Sainte Meér church became the HQ for Organisation Todt, carrying out the alterations to the village, and the church spire was removed to try to change the aspect of the village. The presbytere (the vicarage) was reserved for Generaloberst Keitel.

Soon after the FHQu moved to 'Tannenberg' the chalet, which had served as Hitler's quarters, was demolished and was not standing when Monsieur Métens-Hosselet returned to the village at the beginning of July. In his field behind the house he found

Above: **Goering, who stayed in his Sonderzug 'Asien' during the campaign, visits FHQu 'Wolfsschlucht', using the small Fieseler Storch landing field just south of 'Wolfspalast'.**

Above: **Wire fences now divide the former open meadow which would make a re-creation of the event a hazardous operation.**

Above left: **Rather appropriately in a village noted for fishing, Hitler shows Hauptmann Gerhard Engel the size of 'the one that got away'!** *Right:* **Our 1977 comparison photograph. The school house in the background is no longer used.**

Above left: **The grave of Hans Bastians, since reburied at Lommel Soldatenfriedhof Block 5, Grave 136.** *Above right:* **The same location today during a storm.**

the grave of SS-Obersturmführer Hans Bastians, an 'Old Fighter' and member of the Allgemeine SS and also Himmler's driver. He had driven the Reichsführer to 'Wolfsschlucht' on June 14, 1940 to confer with Hitler and, while waiting for the conference to end, his Schmeisser MP38 (notoriously dangerous with its safety in the open bolt position) accidentally discharged, wounding him fatally in the head.

Today, Brûly-de-Pesche, as the name implies, is a fishing centre but the 'vestiges historique', as they are signposted, attract a large number of casual visitors. The Conte d'Oultremont, who owns the land on which Hitler's chalet stood has opened the air-raid bunker as a tourist attraction although, as Dr. Raiber has pointed out, Hitler never used it as such. As is our wont with our After the Battle travels, we stayed in the 'Wolfspalast' in order to soak up the atmosphere of events long past.

NEAREST CONVENIENT HOTEL

Hotel de la Fontaine, La Place 1, Brûly-de-Pesche, 6406 Belgium.
Telephone: 060 37064

Above left: **Adolf Hitler, Karl Bodenschatz, Hermann Goering, and Martin Bormann receive the 'deutscher Gruss' after passing the steeple-less church.** *Above right:* **The little church of Sainte Meer today is still used for worship for the tiny village and was open for visitors during our Sunday visit in March 1977.**

Above left: **Hitler and Martin Bormann examine a batch of photographs with the school latrines in the background.** *Above right:* **It is possible that these are pictures taken by Hoffmann or his photographers earlier at FHQu 'Felsennest' or 'Wolfsschlucht', and that we are examining the same photos at the identical spot in Bruly-de-Peche, thirty-seven years later!**

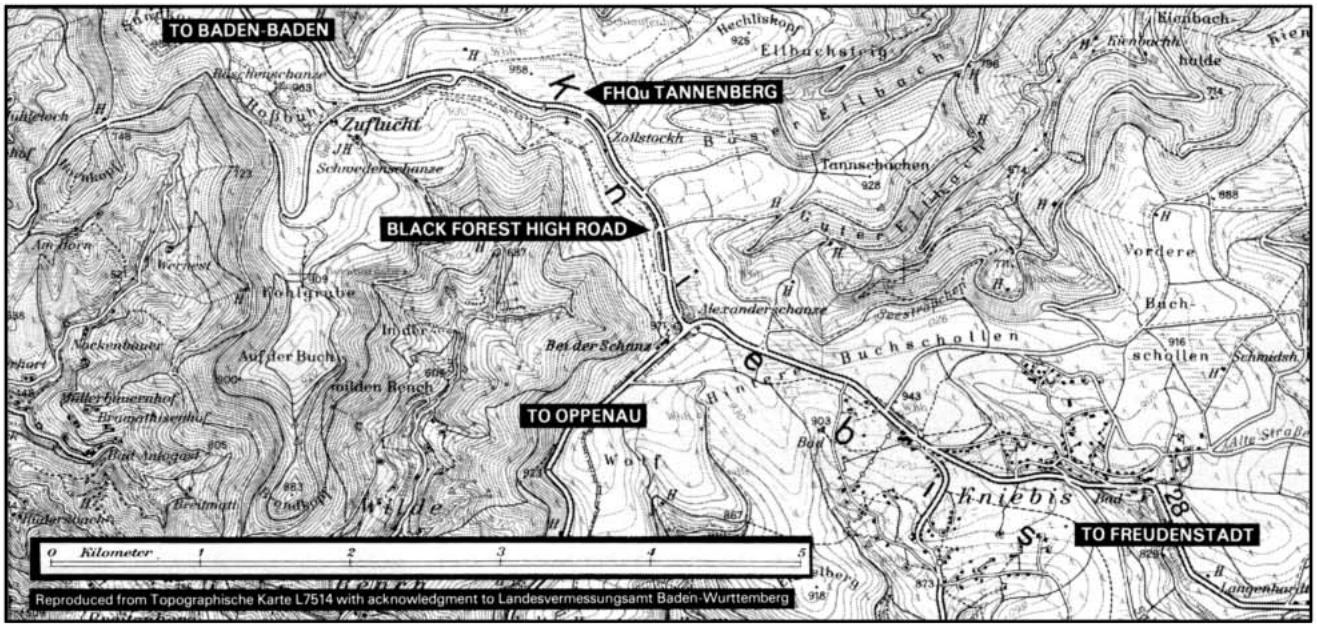
FHQu 'Tannenberg'

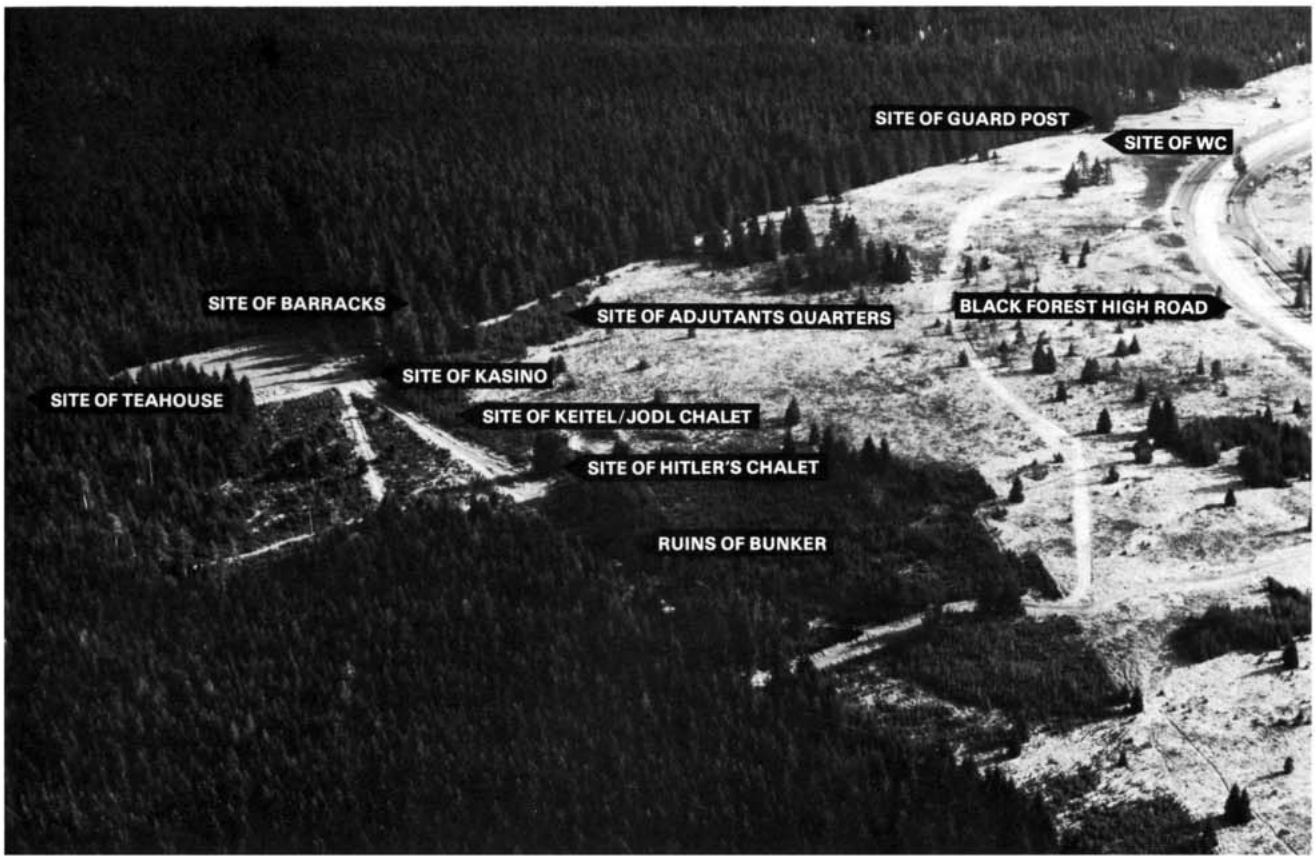
Most of the structures at 'Tannenberg' were located in an evergreen forest on the north side of what is now the Schwarzwaldhochstrasse (the Black Forest High Road), a popular tourist route from Freudenstadt to Baden-Baden. There were two bunkers, one for the Führer, half sunk in the earth, and a Nachrichtenbunker, the latter south of the road. The other buildings were of wooden construction, largely rustic in appearance. There was a chalet for Hitler, offices and quarters for the OKW leadership and Adjutantur, a Kasino, a Teehaus, a Lagehaus, barracks for the FBB, SS-Begleitkommando, and Dienststelle Eins of the Reichssicherheitsdienst, etc. Oberst Warlimont's Abteilung Landesverteidigung was located more than a kilometer away in a Gasthaus, again to his displeasure because of the distance from Sperrkreis I. The complex was encircled, as usual, by barbed-wire fences.

On June 28, Hitler toured Alsace by automobile column and again on the 29th by automobile column and the Führersonderzug (which had been moved from Heusenstamm to Rastatt on June 27 and then to Oppenau, about fifteen kilometers west of FHQu 'Tannenberg', on the 29th). After first visiting hospitalized soldiers in Freudenstadt, he left 'Tannenberg' forever at 1.00 p.m. on July 5 when he boarded 'Amerika' at Oppenau, arriving at Anhalter Bahnhof in Berlin at 3.00 p.m. on July 6.

Although that short, pleasant interlude in summer 1940 at FHQu 'Tannenberg' had been halcyon, almost idyllic, the war was not over. Almost the entire European continent had been brought under the heel of the jackboot, although Britain — licking her wounds and poorly equipped, yet undaunted and belligerent — remained unintimidated across the Channel. The Führerhauptquartier was scheduled to move into the Ziegenberg facility (the construction of which had continued) when Operation 'Seelöwe' (Sea Lion), the invasion of southern England, began. Already known as 'Adlerhorst' (Eagle Eyrie), as early as June 29 an advance detachment of the Führer-Begleit-Bataillon had left 'Tannenberg' in order to establish security preparations there. On July 5, immediately after the Führer's departure from 'Tannenberg,' the rest of the FBB, including its Commanding Officer, Oberstleutnant Kurt Thomas, moved on to 'Adlerhorst.' Thomas

Above: **The FHQu 'Tannenberg' buildings were dispersed in an evergreen forest high in the Schwarzwald.** *Below:* **The contrast was enormous during our visit in April 1977: cold winds, thick snow, and all the buildings long gone.**





had succeeded Rommel in that position in February 1940. Only a Wachkommando stayed behind at 'Tannenberg' until July 13 when custody for it was accepted by V Army Corps. Four years later, in the summer of 1944, the Führer and General Jodl discussed the possibility of using 'Tannenberg' once again as a Führerhauptquartier, but nothing ever came of it.

However, 'Adlerhorst' was not destined to become a Führerhauptquartier in the summer of 1940. The Luftwaffe failed to dominate British air space and, as autumn approached, for this as well as other reasons 'Seelöwe' came to be viewed as a mission beyond the Wehrmacht's capability and was postponed, ultimately forever. On November 9, 1940, negotiations began with Reserve Corps Headquarters, IX Army Corps at Kassel for the takeover and safekeeping of 'Adlerhorst', and on November 25, the FBB left the Ziegenberg area.

'TANNENBERG' TODAY

The weather was sunny as we crossed the Rhine at Strasbourg to reach the foothills of the Black Forest but, as we climbed the winding road to Alexanderschanze, it became colder with flurries of snow. There is a T-junction at the Höhenhotel Alexanderschanze where the famous Black Forest High Road from Freudenstadt turns sharply north and, running past the site of former FHQu 'Tannenberg' two kilometres beyond, eventually terminates at Baden-Baden. By the time we reached the plateau, it was certainly not living up to its name as all was covered with a thick layer of crisp snow.

The 'High Road' has now been widened to cope with the summer tourist traffic and so bears little resemblance to the narrow lane winding between tall pine trees of Hitler's day. A small hut stands on the right of the road marking the track leading to the FHQu 'Tannenberg' ruins although, as we expected, there is no signpost to indicate its position. Another hut nearby, beneath the trees, stands on the spot of the original sentry post.

Our Land-Rover had no difficulty in negotiating the snowy track which leads into

Above: **View of Hitler and officers from another angle. The wooden chalets can be seen through the trees.** *Right:* **Today new fir trees cover the entire site, although we managed to uncover a former pathway.**

Top: **Hitler's tea party. A group of women workers are invited to FHQu 'Tannenberg'.** *Above left:* **More frivolity as Hitler joins the ladies in a dance routine.** *Right:* **Auf Wiedersehen!** *Below:* **Fuehrer, women and Teehaus are gone forever.**

the forest. Within a couple of hundred yards, this track meets another crossing it at right angles, and there, beneath a high seat for shooting, one can see the first concrete remains. Although there is no sign of the wooden Führerhaus or other chalets constructed there, the blasted remains of Hitler's bunker can be seen about 300 yards along the left-hand track. It is not clear whether the sight was razed by the Germans or by the First French Army after its capture.

The paths, visible in the 1940 photographs are still discernable and we uncovered odd pieces of flagstone beneath the snow. However the open clearing has been planted with young fir trees, at present only three or four feet high, so that, in years to come, they will completely disguise the whole area.

NEAREST CONVENIENT HOTEL

Höhenhotel Alexandershanze, Freudenstadt-Kniebis an der Schwarzwaldhochstrasse, 7209, West Germany.
Telephone: 07442 2431

Above: **Hitler strolls with Baldur von Schirach, Hitler Youth Leader, in a typical Black Forest setting — then as now.**

Left: **The cigar-smoking Himmler with Propaganda Minister Dr. Joseph Goebbels. Note the steel shutters flanking the windows and doors in the bunker behind them.** *Above:* **The extensive evergreen undergrowth, even in areas which were formerly open spaces, makes comparison photographs difficult today.** *Below:* **Nothing remains except the crumbling bunker ruins.**

Above: **Hitler and SS-Gruppenfuehrer Julius Schaub, Chief Personal Adjutant since October 1940, beside Fuehrersonderzug 'Amerika' at Moenichkirchen.** *Below:* **The station in September 1977 unchanged except for the missing wooden platform.**

FHQu 'Frühlingssturm'

Hitler's full attention was now fatefully directed eastward where virtually limitless Lebensraum (living space) lay for Germany, although first it was necessary to intervene in Balkan affairs.

Führersonderzug 'Amerika' served as Führerhauptquartier 'Frühlingssturm' (Spring Storm) during the Balkanfeldzug in the spring of 1941. It stood in the little mountain station of Mönichkirchen, Austria, about 70 kilometers south-west of Vienna, having arrived at 7.20 a.m. on April 12, 1941, nearly two hours later than scheduled, as a light snow fell. Himmler now had Sonderzug 'Heinrich' to himself; it followed 'Amerika' from Berlin by way of Munich and was then diverted to Bruck an der Mur, west of Mönichkirchen. Göring's Sonderzug 'Asien' went to a tunnel north of Friedberg, Austria. The Wehrmachtführungsstab's new Sonderzug 'Atlas' had arrived at Mönichkirchen on the evening of April 11 and was parked in a tunnel just south of the little station. Although a tunnel to the north of Mönichkirchen had been reserved for the Führersonderzug in the event of an enemy aircraft attack, this never materialized, and 'Amerika' stayed at the station throughout most of the campaign. Von Ribbentrop also came to Austria in his own Sonderzug 'Westfalen' which was eventually parked in Vienna's Südbahnhof. The OKH used the Maria Theresa Academy facilities in Wiener-Neustadt, about 35 kilometers south of Vienna.

Except for several short walks to a small hotel near the station, the Mönichkirchnerhof, where he viewed the latest newsreels, Hitler did not venture from his Sonderzug beyond the station platform (where he received birthday congratulations on April

Above: **The two Flakwagens in the foreground, here coupled together, were part of 'Amerika'. Hotel Moenichkirchnerhof can be seen in background.** *Below:* **The view in September 1977.**

Below: **The view looking north from the opposite quarter of the train standing on the single-line track, and** *(above)* **the same view today.**

20). At 2.00 a.m. on April 26, with the enemy vanquished, Führersonderzug 'Amerika' departed from Mönichkirchen for southern Austria so that Hitler could visit Graz and Marburg. He slept aboard the train on the night of April 26/27 whilst parked at Maria-Saal, north of Klagenfurt, Austria. After visiting Klagenfurt on April 27 he returned to 'Amerika' and, departing at 6.00 p.m., arrived back in Berlin at 6.30 p.m. on April 28. Two months later he was at FHQu 'Wolfsschanze'.

BY RAIL TO MÖNICHKIRCHEN

By way of a change, and in keeping with our story, the editor decided to travel to Mönichkirchen to take our comparison photographs by train from Vienna along the same line used by Hitler in 1941. It was a grey day in September 1977, that our diesel train pulled slowly out of Vienna's Südbahnhof and south through the city suburbs. Reaching Wiener-Neustadt in thirty minutes, the previously empty train was soon crowded with hordes of Austrian schoolchildren on their homeward journeys to outlying villages. As the editor sat surrounded by young Fräuleins, there seemed a huge preoccupation to see how many cigarettes they could smoke before they reached their destinations!

As the train ground slowly south along the single track through the foothills of the Alps it slowly emptied, the majority of the children alighting at Aspang. The small stations had probably not changed since Hitler's Sonderzug used the route although surely at a faster pace than our jolting, snail's-pace journey. At last, after a ninety-minute journey, the train reached Mönichkirchen Bahnhof nestling in a small valley surrounded by tree-clad hills.

The station is situated about five kilometers from the town of the same name—the last kilometre being down a small winding lane from Route 54. Its choice for one of Hitler's headquarters was immediately apparent; once this lane was closed, the station would be completely isolated, protected by the surrounding high ground. Additionally, a tunnel began three or four hundred metres from the station, and could give protection in case of air attack, and the nearby Hotel Mönichkirchnerhof provided convenient additional accommodation.

The small station is unchanged since Hitler's day except that the wooden platform and siding have now been removed. The stationmaster's house, facing the station, is now privately occupied. The Mönichkirchnerhof, standing just yards from the track, has been owned for the past few years by the Hering family (during the FHQu 'Frühlingssturm' days its patrons were Ferdinand and Emma Awart). Herr Franz Hering was most interested in our visit and willingly showed the editor around the hotel. Room 30 is purported to have been occupied by Göring and the present restaurant was Hitler's cinema.

Above left: **Hitler leaves Hotel Moenichkirchnerhof, about 50 meters from the Bahnhof, with Martin Bormann on his right and Julius Schaub at his left after reviewing the latest newsreels on April 15, 1941.** *Above right:* **Younger members of the Hering family outside the historic hotel today.** *Below:* **Room 30 in the hotel, purportedly used by Goering.**

NEAREST CONVENIENT HOTEL

Waldpension 'Ingrid' (Hotel Mönichkirchenerhof), Mitteregg 69, 2872, Austria
Telephone: 02649 212

Above left: **Hitler enters the Bahnhof forecourt after leaving the hotel. The tall Luftwaffe officer (second from left with movie camera) is Walter Frentz, the Fuehrerhauptquartier motion picture historian.** *Right:* **Our visit to Moenichkirchen was all too brief — just an hour before having to catch our return train to Vienna.**

Above left: Julius Schaub, Hitler, and Walther Hewel walk along the ramp built beside Fuehrersonderzug. NSKK-Brigadefuehrer Albert Bormann, Martin Bormann's younger brother and a Personal Adjutant, is behind Schaub. *Above right:* Trains rarely stop at Moenichkirchen today as the main station of Aspang is only a few kilometres distant.

Above: Keitel greets Goering when the Reichsmarschall came to FHQu 'Fruehlingssturm' on April 20, 1941. Karl Bodenschatz, Goering's representative at the Fuehrerhauptquartier, looks on.

Above: Keitel congratulates Hitler on the latter's 52nd birthday, aboard the Fuehrersonderzug standing on the track at Moenichkirchen station.

Above left: Sixteen officers recently assigned to the Fuehrer-Begleit-Bataillon are introduced to Hitler on the road outside the Hotel Moenichkirchnerhof on April 15, 1941, a scene which had changed little in 1977 *(photo above right).*

LAGEPLAN M. 1:5000.

La. Wo. 43/II

gaufstellung
achtaufstellung
ERKLÄRUNG:
H = HOCHSTÄNDE
F = FLAKSTÄNDE
I = ORTSKOMMANDANT.
II = HAUS KOMMANDANT
III = HAUS GEN. WARLIMONT
IV = ORTSKRANKENSTUBE
V = KRANKEN-REVIER
VI = WASCHBAR. VII = SAUNA I
BUNKER
BARACKEN
SCHLEPPDACH (SCHUPPEN)
NACH WACHE OST L13
Posten 4, Sperrkreis II
fällt von 20°° - 7°° Uhr fort
O.U. AM 26.10.42

FHQu 'Wolfsschanze'

Above: **Dr. Tiso, Slovakian Staatspraesident, arrives at FHQu 'Wolfsschanze' October 20, 1941 and is escorted east on the ramp at Bahnhof Goerlitz.** *Below:* **Dr. Raiber's November 1974 photograph looking westward from the top of the Bahnhof bunker ruin.**

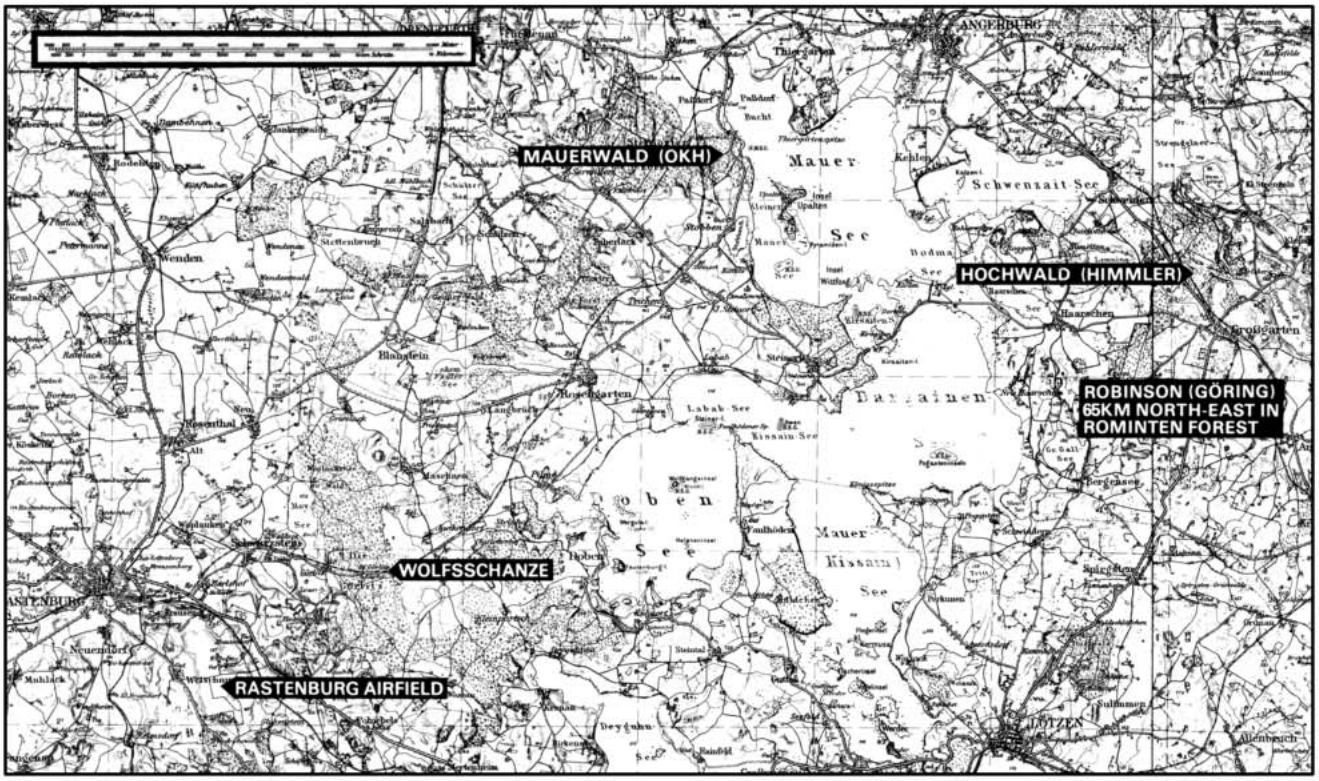
FHQu 'Wolfsschanze' (also spelled 'Wolfschanze' in the contemporary documents) was located in the Görlitz Forest about eight kilometers east of Rastenburg (now renamed Ketrzyn, pronounced Cainshan) in the Masurian Lake district of former East Prussia. It was the Führer, himself, who gave the compound its name shortly after he arrived there early on June 24, 1941 in Führersonderzug 'Amerika', a little less than 48 hours after the Wehrmacht had crossed into Russia beginning Operation 'Barbarossa'. It has often been interpreted as 'Wolf's Lair' although 'Wolf's Redoubt' or even 'Fort Wolf' would seem better translations. During the initial construction stage (summer 1940), its identity had been camouflaged under the code-names Anlage 'Nord' (Camp North) or Anlage 'N' and also 'Chemische Werke Askania' (Askania Chemical Works. *See* map opposite).

The Führerhauptquartier installations were laid out on both sides of an asphalt road which passed west/east through the Görlitz Forest from Rastenburg and then on north-east to Angerburg (now Wegorzewo). The Görlitz is, however, more a wood, and certainly not the 'dense, dark forest where sunlight seldom penetrated' as it is so often described by historians who have never been there yet persist in cloaking it in an aura of ominousness to augment the image they project of a sinister Führer who 'lurked there'. It has always seemed to me that the record left by Adolf Hitler speaks for itself and requires no melodramatic representations, be they myth or mere exaggeration, to denigrate further its perpetrator. The 'forest' measures less than 2,000 meters across, and there were so many meadows and other open spaces scattered among the tree stands that it was necessary to hang camouflage nets over some of the Führerhauptquartier buildings and plant many small trees and bushes on their roofs to hide them from aerial observation.

Until June 22, 1941, Russian aircraft on the regular, scheduled Moscow to Berlin run flew directly over 'Chemische Werke Askania'.

Just north of the road was a railroad line which passed west/east from Rastenburg to Angerburg and beyond. It was part of the rail system used so successfully by the German VIII Army to outmaneuver and destroy a much larger Russian force at the Battle of Tannenberg in August 1914. For many years there had been a small railroad station, Bahnhof Görlitz, on the south side of the tracks not far from the western edge of the forest. It had served visitors who came on holiday to a Kurhaus which stood south of it and the road. This spa became part of the Führerhauptquartier in 1940/41, and a third rail siding was added to the original rail line at the station. The station, itself, was greatly expanded including the building of a blockhouse in August 1941 as well as a much longer ramp to accommodate the arrival and departure of the Führersonderzug. The railroad and the Rastenburg/Angerburg road were closed, of course, to civilian use after the spring of 1941.

The outer perimeter barrier of FHQu 'Wolfsschanze' was a double-apron, barbed-wire fence enclosing an area of about 2.5 square kilometers which was known as Sperrkreis II. Along the fence were situated blockhouses, flak and machine gun towers, and other defensive emplacements. Sentries of the Führer-Begleit-Bataillon patrolled the barrier as well as posts within Sperrkreis II. There was an entrance gate, Wache West (Western Guard Post), on the Rastenburg/Angerburg road leading into Sperrkreis II near the western fringe of the forest, another beyond the eastern edge, Wache Ost (Eastern Guard Post), and a third, Wache Süd (Southern Guard Post), on another, beautifully cobblestoned, road running south out of Sperrkreis II toward Rastenburg airfield located on a plateau about six kilometers south-west of 'Wolfsschanze'. A traffic control post, the Offizierwache (the Officers Guard Post) with wooden pole barrier, was situated between Wache West and Wache Ost on the Rastenburg/Angerburg road near the western entrance into Sperrkreis I. Beyond the Sperrkreis II outer perimeter there were ex-

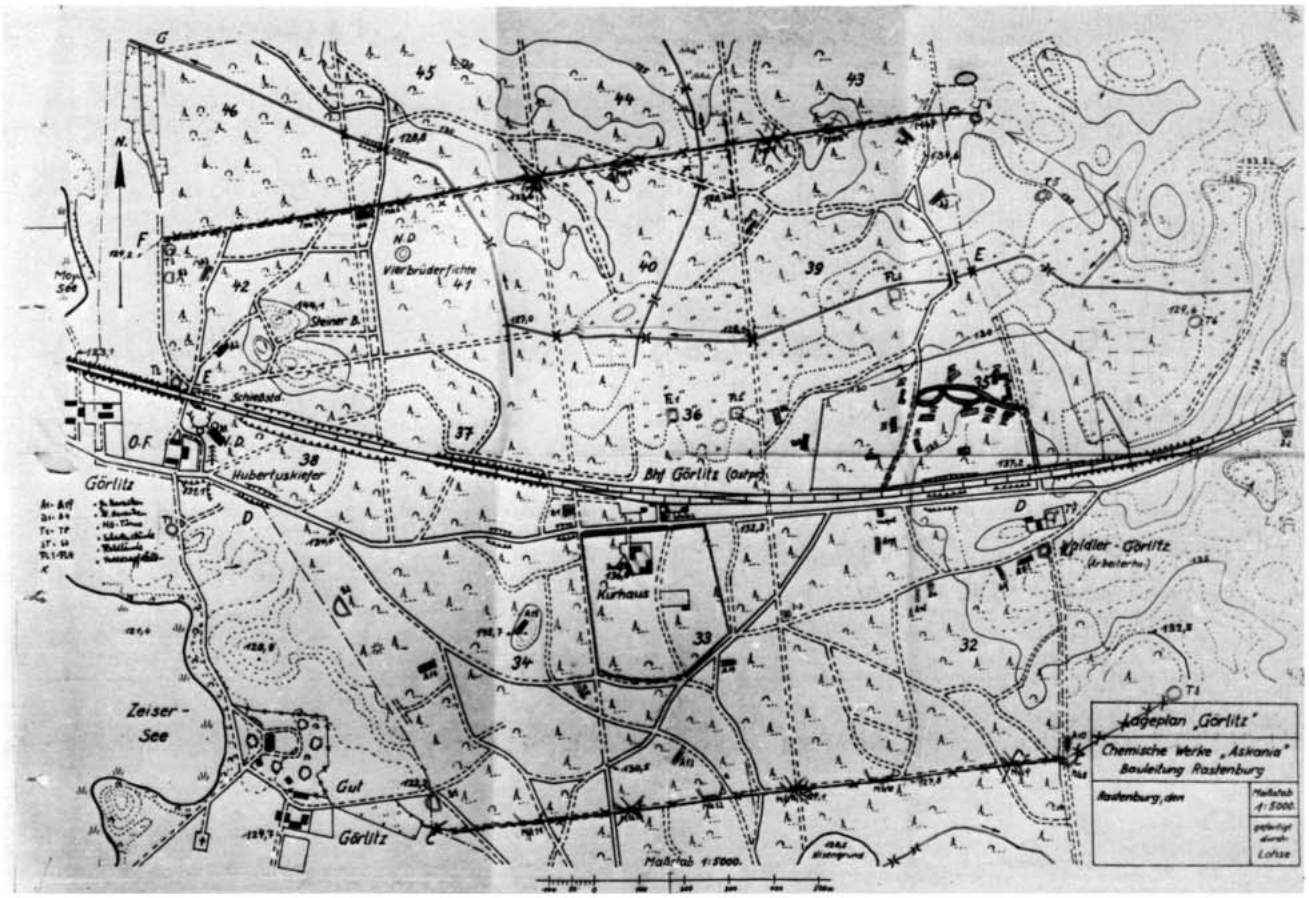


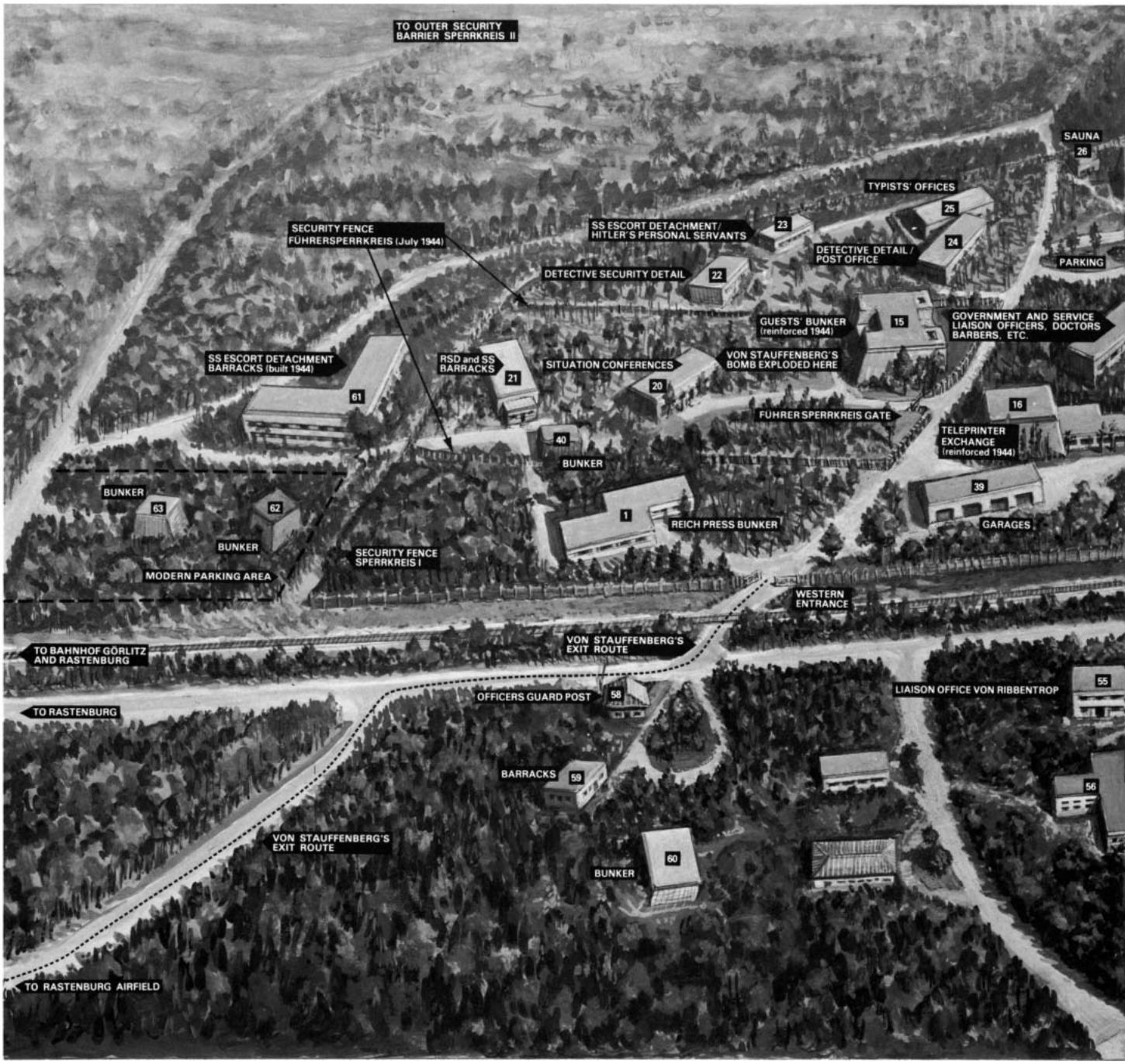
Pre-war topographic map showing the relative locations of the East Prussian HQs.

tensive minefields, and even further distant there were concrete gun emplacements strategically sited at road junctions and along access roads covering the approaches.

Sperrkreis I was the centrum of the Führerhauptquartier. It was situated immediately north of the Rastenburg/Angerburg tracks and road in the eastern part of Sperrkreis II. It, too, was surrounded by a fence, probably chain-link topped with barbed-wire, but whether it or any other fence at 'Wolfsschanze' was electrified, as is often reported, is not certain. The Sperrkreis I barrier had a western gate (Tor I) and an eastern entrance (Tor II) for the major Sperrkreis I road which, paved with asphalt and lined in some sections with cobblestoned gutters, passed like a huge inverted 'U' in and out of the Sperrkreis.

The Führerbunker (No. 11) was the principal structure in Sperrkreis I. There was also an office/bunker (No. 7) for Generalfeldmarschall Wilhelm Keitel. South of it was a long, barracks-type building for the Chef Wehrmachtführungsstab, General Alfred Jodl. West of the Führerbunker was a bunker/office/quarters (No. 12) for Martin

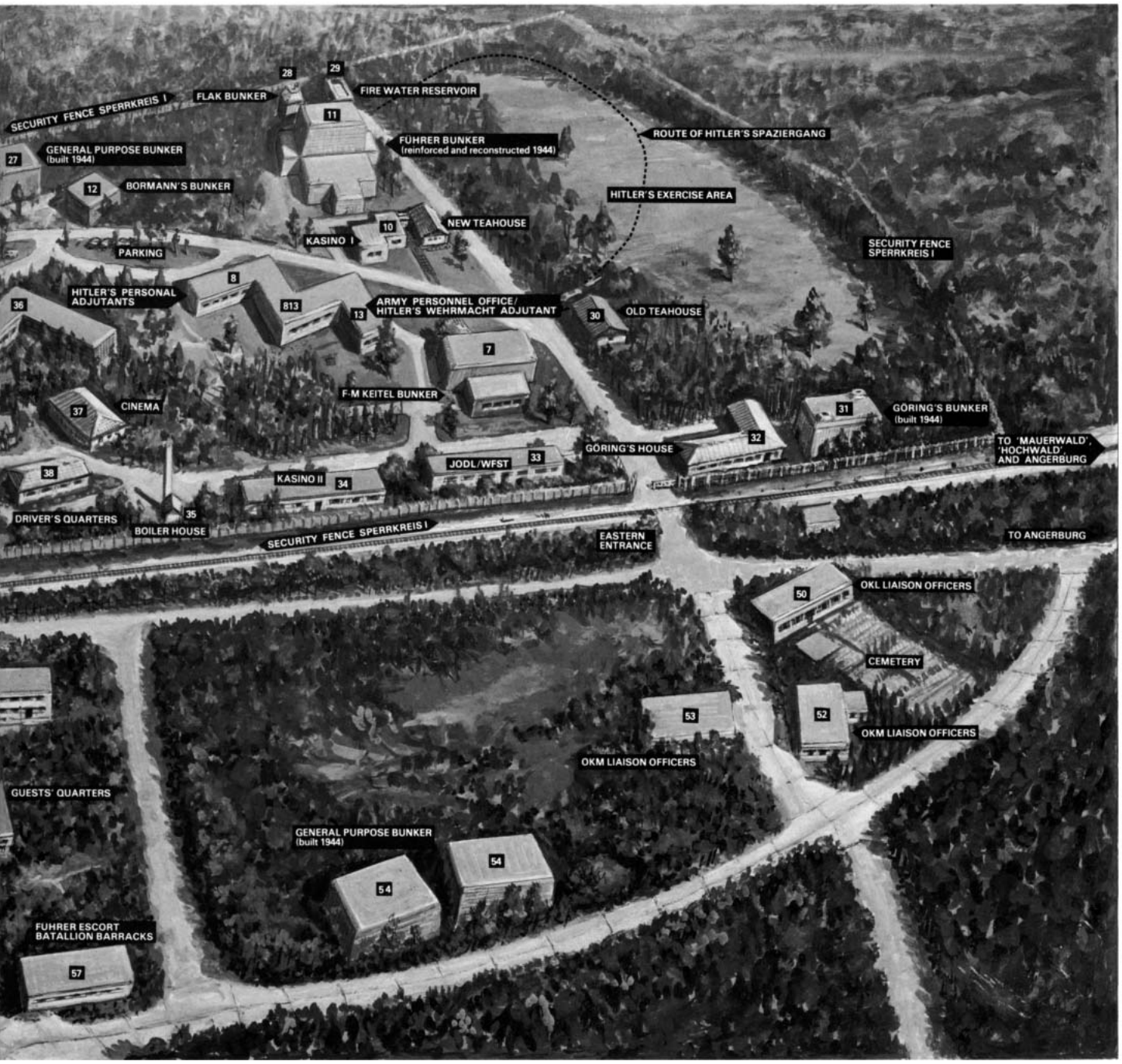




Bormann. A Teehaus was completed on May 27, 1942 and stood east of the Keitelbunker. Later, a Neues Teehaus was constructed adjacent to (east of) Kasino I (a building which contained two dining rooms for the Führer and his inner circle), and the two came to be known as No. 10. A flagstone walk between them, partly covered overhead, ran north/south across the main Sperrkreis I road to the Keitelbunker. It was generally in the tea houses, first the old then the new, that Hitler sought to relax in the evenings, and these buildings were the scenes of his famous 'Table Talks', interminable, meandering monologues, at first surreptitiously recorded for posterity, which often continued until break of day while the chosen few who had been invited to listen struggled to keep awake. West of the WFSt-Baracke was another dining hall (Kasino II).

Just inside the eastern entrance into Sperrkreis I was an L-shaped brick house, the Reichsmarschallhaus, provided for Hermann Göring. During the third 'Wolfsschanze' construction phase (February to November 1944), a massive Göringbunker was constructed east of the Reichsmarschallhaus. However, Göring used his 'Wolfsschanze' facility only occasionally, spending most of his time when in East Prussia at his own Hauptquartier, 'Robinson', about 65 kilometers away east-north-east in the Rominten Forest, and it was there that his Sonderzug 'Asien' ('Pommern' after February 1, 1943) was parked.

Further west in Sperrkreis I there were a garage, a cinema, and a large Nachrichtenbunker (communications bunker) which housed the Fernschreibvermittlung (teleprinter exchange). West of the latter was a bunker/office (No. 1) for Reichspressechef Otto Dietrich. North of it stood a very heavily constructed Gästebunker No. 15 (guests' bunker), for VIP visitors who came to see the Führer, several barracks and bunker/barracks for the SS-Begleitkommando, officers of the Reichssicherheitsdienst, and his servants, and a sauna (completed May 24, 1942). North of the Gästebunker was a barracks-type building where the shorthand notes of the Lagebesprechungen were transcribed; this building was, itself, enclosed within a fence, entrance through its gate being strictly limited for security reasons because of the very sensitive nature of the material being processed there. North of the Bormannbunker, a huge Allgemeiner Bunker (general purpose bunker) was built in the spring/summer of 1944. On the main Sperrkreis I road, west of the Keitelbunker, were two bunker/barracks-type buildings for the Führer's Persönliche und SS-Adjutanten (No. 8) and another (No. 13) for his Wehrmacht-Adjutant Oberst (later General) Rudolf Schmundt who, in 1944, was also Chef Heerespersonalamt (Chief of the Army Personnel Office). These were subsequently enlarged and, joined together and shaped like a large 'M', the combination was known as No. 8/13. West of No. 8, north-east of the Nachrichtenbunker, there was a bunker/barracks building, L-shaped, for the various liaison personnel posted to the Führerhauptquartier, Dr. Theo Morell (Hitler's physician), the barber shop, etc.



How FHQu 'Wolfsschanze' Sperrkreis I and adjacent area would have appeared to an aircraft approaching from the south. Not shown is the extensive camouflage system — bushes and trees on the roofs, painted designs on walls and nets strewn with foliage between buildings on poles, concealing the Fuehrerhauptquartier from the air. (Our artist George Campbell's impression in consultation with Dr. Raiber)

On September 22, 1943 (effective 5.00 p.m.), a new security zone (Sperrkreis A) was established within Sperrkreis I to provide even greater security for the core of FHQu 'Wolfsschanze'. It included the following buildings: No. 7, No. 8, No. 10, No. 11, No. 12, and No. 13. Entrance into it was controlled very carefully; a special pass was required to visit it, even for Führerhauptquartier personnel who worked elsewhere in Sperrkreis I. There were three gates, each manned by non-commissioned officers of the FBB and RSD as well as an officer of the latter, in the fence which encircled it: Tor IA was at No. 12, Tor IIA was at the Reichsmarschallhaus, and Tor IIIA was near No. 7. All traffic was assigned the use of specific gates.

In summer and early autumn of 1944, yet another inner security zone, the Führersperrkreis (Führer Security Zone), was established in the north-west corner of Sperrkreis I while the Führerbunker (No. 11) was undergoing reconstruction. Its fence encircled chiefly the Gästebunker where Hitler lived during this period and a barracks-type building taken over as the Lagebaracke (or Lagehaus). It was in the Lagezimmer (situation conference room) at the north-east end of this Lagebaracke that the famous July 20, 1944 von Stauffenberg assassination attempt on the life of Hitler took place.

There was a fence-enclosed area south-west of Sperrkreis I, south of Bahnhof Görlitz and the Rastenburg/Angerburg road. Most of the key sections of the Wehrmachtführungsstab were located in this sector. They were commanded by General Warlimont, Deputy Chef WFSt January 1942 to September 1944, and were responsible for working the Führer's conference pronouncements into meaningful form for issue to the staffs at OKH, OKL, and OKM. The old Kurhaus became a Kasino for Führerhauptquartier personnel who lived and worked in the area, and von Stauffenberg had taken his last breakfast on this earth there on the morning of July 20, 1944 after his arrival by air from Berlin and before going on over to Sperrkreis I. An enormous new Nachrichtenbunker for the Fernsprechvermittlung (telephone exchange) was built in the southern part of this sector in the spring and summer of 1944.

To the east, south of Sperrkreis I, there were buildings for guests and von Ribbentrop's liaison staff. A little farther east, on a concrete road which runs parallel to the main Rastenburg/Angerburg road in Sperrkreis II, two huge, abutting general purpose bunkers were constructed in 1944 as shelters for that area of 'Wolfsschanze'. South of the eastern entrance into Sperrkreis I were offices for the liaison staffs from OKM and OKL.

Spring 1942: View is north. On the left is the north-east entrance into Kasino I. In the distance is the south face of the Fuehrer-bunker. Luftwaffe Generaloberst Wolfram von Richthofen faces Hitler. Behind the latter is SS and Personal Adjutant SS-Hauptsturmfuehrer Richard Schulze.

Early summer 1942 looking north-east. Hungarian officers are escorted toward the entrance in the north side of the Keitelbunker. The car faces east on the main Sperrkreis I road. The new Teehaus was later built just behind the vehicle, separated from Kasino I by a flagstone walk.

Spring 1942. View is south with the east face of Kasino I on the right and the north side of the Keitelbunker in the distance on the left. Luftwaffe Generaloberst Hans Jeschonnek stands with General der Flieger Kurt Student at left. Hitler talks with Generaloberst von Richthofen. SS-Obersturmfuehrer Hans Pfeiffer, SS Adjutant, is behind Hitler, and the latter's Chief Servant, SS-Untersturmfuehrer Heinz Linge, is just behind von Richthofen. An RSD officer observes from the flagstone walk.

Spring 1942. View is south with the north face of Kasino I in the distance. Goering and Bodenschatz walk with Hitler. On the extreme right is an Adjutant, SS-Hauptsturmfuehrer Fritz Darges.

Axis of view is east toward the west face Kasino I. Kapitaen zur See von Puttkamer bids farewell as Admiral Doenitz leaves FHQu 'Wolfsschanze'. Car faces west on the main Sperrkreis I road.

Admirals Erich Raeder (left) and Karl Doenitz meet with Hitler outside the north entrance of the Keitelbunker (No.7).

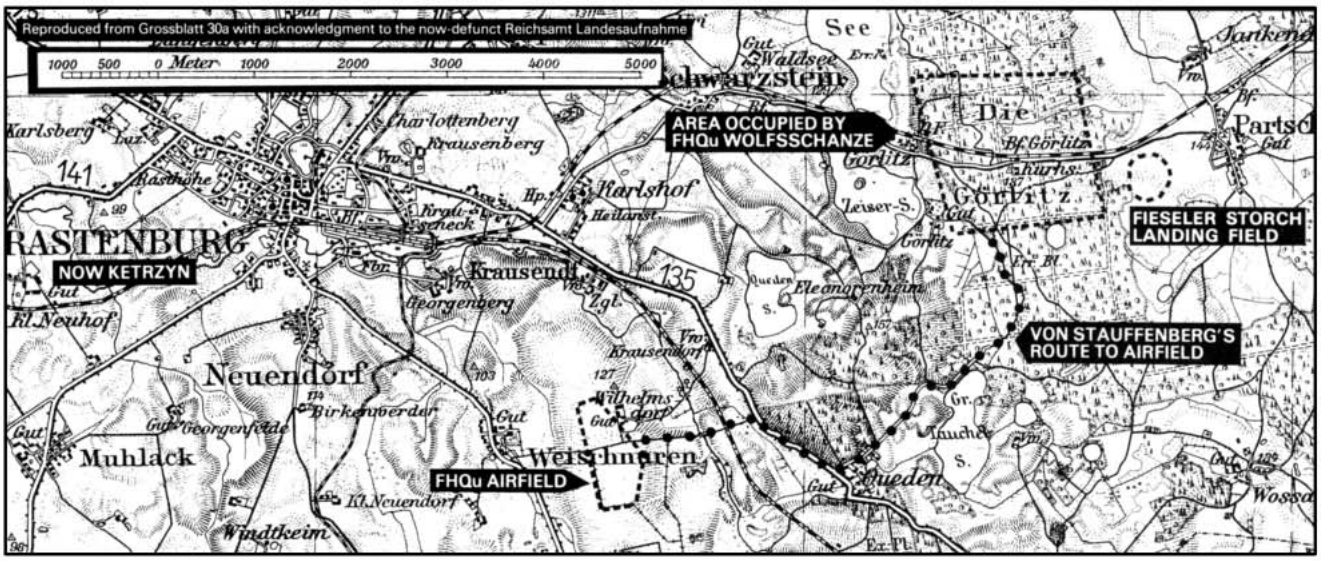
Axis of view is north-west. Luftwaffe Generals Jeschonnek (leading) and Kurt Student are approaching the northern entrance to Keitelbunker. The L-shaped south face of Kasino I is beyond, across the main Sperrkreis I road.

In the winter of 1942, the Lagebesprechungen were held in the Keitelbunker. From left to right are Luftwaffe Oberstleutnant Eckhardt Christian, Goering, Hitler, Keitel, and Jeschonneck at map table. Major von Below is between Hitler and Keitel.

The view eastward from between Kasino I and the Fuehrerbunker. Generaloberst Franz Halder (left) talks with Generalfeldmarschall Guenter von Kluge. Beyond is the open meadow around which Hitler took his exercise walks.

The south face of the Fuehrerbunker in the winter of 1942. As a result of the massive reconstruction, carried out in the spring/summer of 1944, the Fuehrerbunker was extended south, much closer to Kasino I. The officers stand before the screened-in entrance to building No. 11.

Late spring 1942. View is westward on the main Sperrkreis I road from south of Kasino I. The east side of No. 13 is in the left background. Hitler examines a new model of cross-country personnel carrier with SS-Sturmbannfuehrer Erich Kempka (face in profile), his chief chauffeur.



The Assassination Attempt—July 20, 1944

The July 20, 1944 incident was, without doubt, the most sensational event to occur at FHQu 'Wolfsschanze'. Therefore, a closer scrutiny of the Führersperrkreis is warranted at this point.

There were three major construction periods at 'Wolfsschanze', the last taking place in the spring, summer and early autumn of 1944. This had been scheduled to include extensive reinforcement of the Führerbunker and, in order to expedite the work as well as to avoid the problem of security introduced by the presence of many workers who had to be allowed inside Sperrkreis I, in February 1944 the Führerhauptquartier was moved temporarily to the Obersalzberg/Berchtesgaden area. That is why Hitler was at the Berghof on June 6 when the Allies landed on the Normandy beaches. However, in mid-July the Führer decided that the Führerhauptquartier should return to East Prussia; shortly before (June 22 to July 4), a catastrophe had struck the Heeresgruppe Mitte (German Army Group Center) in White Russia, resulting in the loss of 28 Wehrmacht divisions and 350,000 men in less than two weeks, and bringing the Red Army to positions less than 150 kilometers east of 'Wolfsschanze'. So much work was still in progress on the Führerbunker when Hitler arrived that he could not occupy it, so instead he took up residence in the Gästebunker. The latter, likewise, was still undergoing renovation but was habitable. Although Hitler had been able to return later to the Führerbunker, there is

Above: **Fuehrersperrkreis, July 20, 1944: The view is toward the north-west. The short south-east wall of Lagezimmer is behind the window nearest the corner of the Lagebaracke (middle distance). Mussolini, whose visit happened to coincide with assassination attempt and had just been shown bombed Lagezimmer, talks with SS-Obergruppenfuehrer Karl Wolff, Wehrmacht Plenipotentiary in Italy (right). Martin Bormann stands between the Duce and Hitler, while Himmler is between Hitler and Goering. Luftwaffe General Loerzer is to right of Goering, and Schaub is just seen at extreme left. The group proceeds eastward towards the Fuehrersperrkreis exit gate.**

Left: **The interior of the Lagebaracke on July 20, 1944.** *Right:* **Photo taken the following day looking towards the south-west, along south-east face of the Lagebaracke. The splintered map table has been removed from the Lagezimmer to the Lagebaracke forecourt (whose doorway is in the background at right). Albert Bormann stands to the right of Dr. Goebbels (sitting). On Goebbels' left are Dr. Werner Naumann, Secretary of State in the Propaganda Ministry, Julius Schaub, and Goering.**

evidence that some work continued on the Gästebunker until November 1944 when 'Wolfsschanze' was evacuated.

The earliest 'Wolfsschanze' conferences had been held in the Keitelbunker and since autumn 1942 in the Führerbunker. However, there was no room in the Gästebunker large enough to accommodate the conferences, and therefore an alternative was found in one of the many, very similar, standard Wehrmacht barracks-type buildings which stood about thirty meters west of the Gästebunker. Rectangular in shape, with its long axis oriented north-east/south-west, like the others of its kind at 'Wolfsschanze' it had originally been constructed of brick. Later, probably in 1943, concrete was added to its walls and roof, increasing their thicknesses to half a meter and nearly a meter respectively. Steel shutters flanked the windows of which there were three (not five as is often said), being large double-casement-types in the longer (12.5 meters) north-east end and a narrower, single-casement-type in the shorter (5 meters) south-east wall of the Lagezimmer. Entrance into the room was from a corridor running through the main axis of the building. The floor was wood, and there was a space between the wooden ceiling and the concrete roof above.

In order to seal off this area from the remainder of Sperrkreis I, with its many laborers at work there each day, a two-and-one-half-meter-high chain-link fence topped with barbed-wire was erected around the Gästebunker and Lagebaracke. The closely-guarded gate of this Führersperrkreis was located off the western limb of the main Sperrkreis I road, between the south-east corner of the Gästebunker and the north-west corner of the Nachrichtenbunker.

It is apparent that von Stauffenberg's bomb failed to kill Hitler on July 20, 1944 because its explosive force was insufficient. How could this have happened?

It was not because, as some say, the charge was calculated for its effect when exploded only in the confined space of a 'bunker' (generally described as underground), or that when the site of the July 20 conference was 'unexpectedly changed' from this 'bunker' to a 'flimsy, wooden barracks' because of the 'heat that day' the conspirators were unprepared and could not adjust the bomb's effect upward.

In order to set the record straight — after all these years — the facts are as follows: As we have seen, the 'Wolfsschanze' conferences had not been held in a 'bunker', the Führerbunker, since February 1944. As will be shown later, there never was any type of underground bunker construction at FHQu 'Wolfsschanze'. Von Stauffenberg had known full well precisely where the July 20 meeting would be held, for he had attended the Lagebesprechung which took place in the Lagebaracke on July 15, just after the Führerhauptquartier's return to East Prussia. Moreover, July 20 was not a particularly hot day; it was raining when Mussolini arrived at 'Wolfsschanze' not long after the explosion, and photographs show the Führer wearing a rain cape. Finally, the Lagebaracke was not a lightly constructed building; only its interior was wooden, and the walls were approximately 50 centimeters thick of concrete over brick.

Nevertheless, the basic reason why the attempt failed continues to elude us. There is little doubt that the blast effect in the Lagezimmer was diminished, for the windows were open when the bomb detonated. Furthermore, its force was certainly dissipated in the open space between Lagezimmer ceiling and roof and beneath the floor; witnesses say that the shock-wave spread 50 meters from the Lagezimmer to cause damage in rooms at the opposite end of the Lagebaracke.

General Warlimont was in the Lagezimmer when the bomb went off: 'In a flash the map

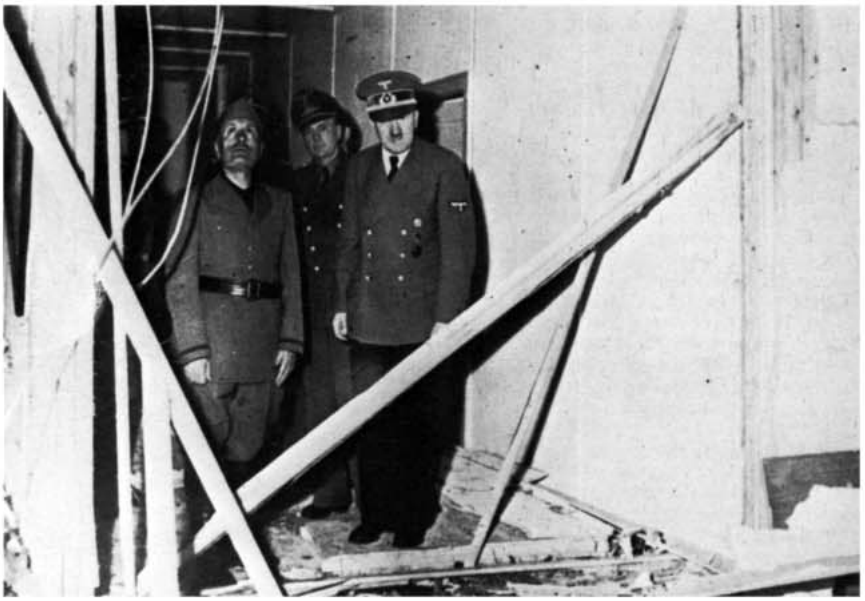
Above: **July 20, 1944 view of the north-east side of Lagebaracke with Lagezimmer's three windows flanked by steel shutters. Note rain water draining from spouts at each corner of the roof.** *Below:* **Professor Hoffmann photographs Dr. Raiber in November 1974 standing on the fallen Lagebaracke roof directly over the Lagezimmer. The roof parapet, behind, can be seen above the windows (from opposite direction) in the photograph above. Axis of view is toward east. West face of Gaestebunker ruin lies beyond the trees.**

room became a scene of stampede and destruction. At one moment was to be seen a set of men and things which together formed a focal point of world events; at the next there was nothing but wounded men groaning, the acrid smell of burning, and charred fragments of maps and papers fluttering in the wind. I staggered up and jumped through the window. As my mind cleared my thoughts turned straight to my colleagues. The most urgently in need of help was Colonel Brandt, a staff officer highly thought of by everybody and once a world-famous show rider; he had a leg shattered and was vainly trying to heave himself up to a window to get away from the scene of horror. Most of us collected outside in front of the hut, pale and shaken; those who were apparently unwounded supported their comrades until the ambulances arrived. Long before that, however, the man who was the real target of the attack had regained his own hut (sic), supported by Keitel and apparently undamaged, apart from the fact that the dark trousers below the field grey coat were torn to ribbons from top to bottom.'

Von Stauffenberg had taken two bombs, each weighing 975 grams, to 'Wolfsschanze' that day. The second 'unexploded' device was found later during the Gestapo investigation, beside the road to Rastenburg Flugplatz where the conspirators had flung it after departing through Wache Süd (not Wache West as some say). Thus, he had armed one of the bombs in the privacy of the No. 7 waiting room but for some reason returned it to the 'wrong' attache case, i.e., the one *not* containing the unarmed bomb, which he placed in the Lagebaracke a few minutes later. Experts agreed subsequently that detonation of both bombs would undoubtedly have killed everyone in the Lagezimmer. That information must have been available to von Stauffenberg, for the explosives had previously been field-tested by fellow-conspirators, at least one of whom was a demolition specialist. And why else had he carried two bombs? Claus Schenk von Stauffenberg was brave beyond question, self-controlled, disciplined — the very epitome of the German General Staff colonel. Moreover, he was absolutely dedicated to the

destruction of Adolf Hitler. Thus, it is hard to see how he could have become confused or even lost his nerve at the critical instant and, in failing to combine both bombs, allowed his chance to shape the course of history slip irretrievably away. Was it because of some simple mistake Did he *choose* to ignore, for some unknown reason, the near certainty of achieving his mission which the overkill of both bombs would have guaranteed? Or did some unforeseen intervention force him to alter his plan? It is known that Feldwebel Werner Vogel, sent to prod him into hurrying as the Lagebesprechung was about to begin, came to the No. 7 waiting room door. It is possible, of course, that Vogel's appearance in the doorway may have been sufficient cause for von Stauffenberg to load the wrong briefcase. However, one must point out that it did *not* prevent him from carrying out the most difficult and tedious part of his task despite his frightfully incapacitating war wounds — the fusing of one of the bombs!

Unfortunately, the only people who knew why only one bomb went into the Lagezimmer on July 20, von Stauffenberg and his adjutant, were executed in Berlin later that evening after the collapse of the conspiracy.



Top right: **Hitler shows Mussolini the destruction of the Lagezimmer after the explosion from the corridor which ran through the long axis of the Lagebaracke.**
Above: **The group, which is walking northward in Sperrkreis I, has just left the Fuehrersperrkreis. Its eastern security barrier, east of the Gaestebunker, is on the extreme right. The view is towards the south-west. The north side of Nachrichtenbunker can be seen in the distance. Martin Bormann, Hitler, and Himmler are walking in front and Schaub is behind Hitler's right shoulder. Mussolini and Goering bring up the rear behind Himmler. Note the main Sperrkreis road wet from earlier rain and cobble-stone gutter.**
Right: **In Dr. Raiber's photograph, taken in November 1974, the path taken by the group is on the right with the north face of the Nachrichtenbunker in the distance.**

Above left: The group, now led by Goering and the Duce, is south of the Bormann Bunker walking eastward on the main Sperrkreis I road toward the New Teahouse. The east face of the Gaestebunker, behind the group in the distance left and centre, is hidden by camouflage and today *(above right),* in Dr. Raiber's November 1974 photograph taken at same place, by trees which have grown up since the war. However, part of the RSD/Post Office and its ruin can be seen on the right in both photographs.

Above: A photograph of the north wing (on the left), the centre part, and south wing of the Gaestebunker taken looking from the north-west in November 1974. Despite its relatively huge size, so much of the mass of the bunker was comprised of reinforced concrete protection that there was no room inside which could accommodate the Lagebesprechungen. Thus, while Hitler lived in the Gaestebunker, the conferences were held in the Lagebaracke, out of view on the right. It is said that an eight-ton explosive charge was used by Wehrmacht engineers to blow up the Gaestebunker on January 23/24, 1945.

Above: Dr. Raiber's August 1969 view from the Rastenburg/Angerburg road north-east through its western gate into Sperrkreis I. The actual gate was located about where group stands. Von Stauffenberg exited from Sperrkreis I here just after the bomb exploded.

Above: Wache Sued, the last checkpoint negotiated by von Stauffenberg en route to Rastenburg airfield was here. In Dr. Raiber's November 1974 photograph, Professor Hoffmann stands on the cobblestone road, beyond the southern limit of former Sperrkreis II, which leads south-west to the airfield.

'Wolfsschanze' today

Top: **Looking west toward Rastenburg. Hitler's vehicle, passing the Officers Guard Post (or Guard Post 1), is just turning north to enter Sperrkreis I through its western gate (out of the photograph on the right).** *Above:* **Dr. Raiber's identical August 1969 photograph. No trace of guard house could be found.**

COMMENTARY BY DR. RAIBER ON HIS VISITS TO THE RUINS

I suppose it is anomalous that a physician, a professional saver of lives and alleviator of suffering, should have an inordinate interest in what happened in the Second World War in which at least 50 million human lives were snuffed out. I admit, without apology, that it is as relaxing for me to sit for hours without pause at a microfilm reader, scanning thousands of feet of microfilmed German records, as it seems to be for some of my colleagues to strike a little white ball and then walk after it, over and over again¡ Moreover, I believe absolutely that the 'past is prologue' and that 'those who forget the past are condemned to relive it'. My engrossment is not at all vicarious, I hasten to point out: I participated in the Second World War, firing shots in anger against the Japanese at Guadalcanal, Tarawa, Saipan, and Tinian in the Pacific as a member of the well-bloodied Second Marine Division long before I heard for the first time the 'lub-dub' of cardiac action through a stethescope. Yet, my attention has come to be focused most closely on the dramatic events which took place in the European phase of the war, especially the great Eastern Front where the decisive battles directly causing Germany's defeat were so bitterly fought out.

It became clear to me a long time ago that the descriptions of Führerhauptquartier 'Wolfsschanze', Adolf Hitler's most important command post during the war, have invariably been so vague, over-simplified, erroneous, and occasionally even fanciful as to be virtually worthless. This has also been true to a lesser extent of the other Führer's Headquarters. It was in order to remedy this informational hiatus in my own mind that I made visits to the 'Wolfsschanze' ruins as well as some of the other Führerhauptquartier sites the principal objects of my initial travel to Europe in June 1966. My descriptions, then, result from personal investigations in the field, research in the captured German records at the National Archives in Washington, discussions with Germans who were close to Hitler at the Führerhauptquartiere, and last but not least material supplied by Dr. Peter Hoffmann, Professor of History at McGill University, Montreal, Canada, author of two important books in the field.

The vast sums of money and effort expended in trying to make FHQu 'Wolfsschanze' as secure from enemy attack as possible went for nought. Although on several occasions Russian aircraft dropped a few bombs in the area, at least one even exploding in Sperrkreis II but causing no damage, there was not a single determined attempt, either by the Western Allies or the Russians, to launch an assault on 'Wolfsschanze'. Why not remains classified and a mystery to this day, continuing to puzzle former Führerhauptquartier survivors as well as historians. That Hitler considered an enemy raid against 'Wolfsschanze' a possibility is a matter of record, for he ruminated in one of his autumn 1944 conferences (the transcript fragment of which exists) about the threat posed by enemy parachutists landing on the Führerhauptquartier and taking out the entire Reich leadership in an instant. He then added that he would willingly sacrifice two parachute divisions if the Russian High Command could be seized in one stroke!

The precise location of FHQu 'Wolfsschanze' was known to the Western Allies by late 1943 and probably earlier. In February, 1944, Stalin agreed to allow US heavy bombers the use of landing bases on Soviet territory. On June 2, the first of these shuttle bomber formations landed at Poltava, southeast of Kiev in the Ukraine, after dropping their loads on German targets. The original plans were for the shuttle bombers to make several strikes from the Russian airfields after their arrival before returning to their home bases in the West, bombing en route. But even earlier, (October 9, 1943) Eighth Air Force heavy bombers from England had struck Marienburg, only about 175 kilometers west of 'Wolfsschanze'. There is some evidence to

Above left: **Photograph taken on October 20, 1941. Dr. Tiso and Hitler walk north on the flagstone walk from the Keitelbunker (No. 7). Freiherr von Doernberg, Chief of Protocol, is the tall figure on Hitler's left. An RSD officer is on the extreme right. In front of the latter, SS-Untersturmfuehrer Hans Junge, one of Hitler's servants, carries the Fuehrer's coat.** *Above right:* **This is Professor Hoffmann's November 1974 photograph of same north face of the Keitelbunker.**

suggest that the Führerhauptquartier was considered as a target, but rejected for some reason. The problem is further obscured in view of the fact that US fighter-bombers attacked a hotel in Milan, Italy on November 4, 1944 after Allied Intelligence had reported (erroneously) that Hitler would be there.

There appears to be little doubt that, had Adolf Hitler been eliminated, the German leadership replacing him would have sought an end to the war before May 1945, saving countless lives. That was precisely the basis upon which the German Resistance justified its effort to kill him on July 20, 1944. Even though such a turn might not have been readily predicted at Western council tables with certainty, was not the prospect, alone, sufficient to view 'Wolfsschanze' and its chief resident as a prime target?

An extensive flak protective system bristled throughout the Masurian Lake district, and there were German parachute elements stationed nearby which would have been summoned instantly in the event of enemy airborne troops being dropped on FHQu 'Wolfsschanze'. Unquestionably, the attacker would have paid an enormous price in casualties, but time and again during the war the Russians, particularly, accepted with apparent equanimity staggering losses in men for far less profit than the destruction of Adolf Hitler. Presumably the Russians also knew the location of FHQu 'Wolfsschanze'. On December 1, 1943 they had advanced to within 610 kilometers east of it. By January 1, 1944 the distance had shrunk to 550 kilometers, and on July 20, 1944 the Red Army stood only 140 kilometers from the Görlitz Forest. The simultaneous dropping of large parachute concentrations on the many lakes, frozen over in winter and some less than a kilometer from Sperrkreis I, appears not to have been a task beyond the Red Army's capability. Despite the enormous losses which the German defenders would certainly have inflicted on the attackers, success in the mission would have been an unparalleled triumph. Before the summer of 1944, the Führerbunker was vulnerable to very heavy bombs. Subsequently, even if it had withstood the heaviest explosions, sparing the Führer's life, and if the Red Army paratroops had been contained and destroyed, the resulting damage and disorganization would have dealt the OKW a paralyzing blow.

The end for FHQu 'Wolfsschanze' came violently in what must have been an incredibly spectacular pyrotechnic display. At 3.15 p.m. on November 20, 1944, the Führersonderzug ('Brandenburg' since February 1943) slowly glided out of Bahnhof Görlitz and, gathering momentum, passed westward through Rastenburg and on to Berlin. It carried Adolf

Above left: **The Fuehrersperrkreis in mid-July 1944, just after Hitler's return to FHQu 'Wolfsschanze' from Obersalzberg. The photograph has been taken looking towards the south-east — Hitler and two of his aides walk westward from the south wing of the Gaestebunker toward the Lagebaracke. On the right is the path to the Fuehrersperrkreis gate. Beyond the automobile facing north outside the gate is the north-west corner of the Nachrichtenbunker. Wooden poles suspending the camouflage netting are well demonstrated.** *Above right:* **Although overgrown, the distorted west face of Gaestebunker's south wing and the path leading out of former Fuehrersperrkreis is still recognisable in Dr. Raiber's photograph taken in 1969.**

Hitler from 'Wolfsschanze' and East Prussia forever. Shortly after its evacuation, Generalfeldmarschall Keitel ordered the demolition of 'Wolfsschanze' (Operation 'Inselsprung'), but execution of the order was at first delayed when the possibility arose that the Führer might, even yet, return to the East. Finally, however, the switches were closed in mid-January 1945, and 'Wolfsschanze' was blown up to deny its use to the Red Army, then only a few kilometers away.

Today, the former Sperrkreis I has become a tourist attraction, explored in that season by people from all the Communist countries, especially East Germany, in addition to many thousands of Poles. The Soviet-Polish border (established by Russia after the war, dividing East Prussia into north, Soviet, and south, Polish, parts), runs east/west about twenty-five kilometers north of the 'Wolfsschanze' ruins. Children from throughout Poland are brought to the site by bus and tour in groups led by local guides. Beginning about five years ago, for the first time since the end of the war, West German citizens have been granted visas to pass eastward across the Oder/Neisse Line, and some of them now come to see the spectacular remains of the greatest of the former Führerhauptquartiere. In 1966, the guides told me that, except for a group which had come up from the embassy in Warsaw earlier, I was the first American visitor they had seen.

From the standpoint of good weather, summer is the best time to visit the 'Wolfsschanze' ruins. Unfortunately, however, the Poles have made absolutely no effort to prune out the trees and shrubs which have abundantly proliferated throughout the area over the past thirty years. As a result entire buildings, sometimes of considerable size, are frequently hidden from view and may be completely missed unless one knows exactly where to look and penetrates through the intervening, dense overgrowth. Optimum visibility would, of course, only be achieved if the Poles were to remove all post-war vegetation, but that, we have been informed, is a most unlikely possibility. Therefore, in my opinion, the serious historical investigator should plan to go there either in spring or autumn when the forest foliage is minimal. I recommend late October/early November as the best alternative.

By November, most of the leaves have fallen, yet it is a little early for the heavy snowfall accumulations which would render exploration of the ruins difficult if not impossible. However, autumn can be associated with simply atrocious weather conditions: day after dismal day of rain, drizzle, fog, mud, mud, mud, and even the possibility of a little wet snow! It has been our experience that the sun rarely shines at that time of year, and at that northern latitude the available hours of daylight are already shortened in autumn. Therefore, although the foliage has thinned out so that the ruins are visible, photographic contrast is frustratingly poor.

From the time I had first become aware of the enormous historical importance of FHQu 'Wolfsschanze' I was unable to find any good maps of its final configuration, even among the captured German records. Moreover, until recently the maps in books published in Germany, including those written by former Wehrmacht officers who had served at 'Wolfsschanze' during the war, were disappointingly inaccurate and circumscribed. Maps which can sometimes be found in books by English and American authors are so grossly at fault that they are as useless as the ridiculously imaginative descriptions of the Führerhauptquartier.

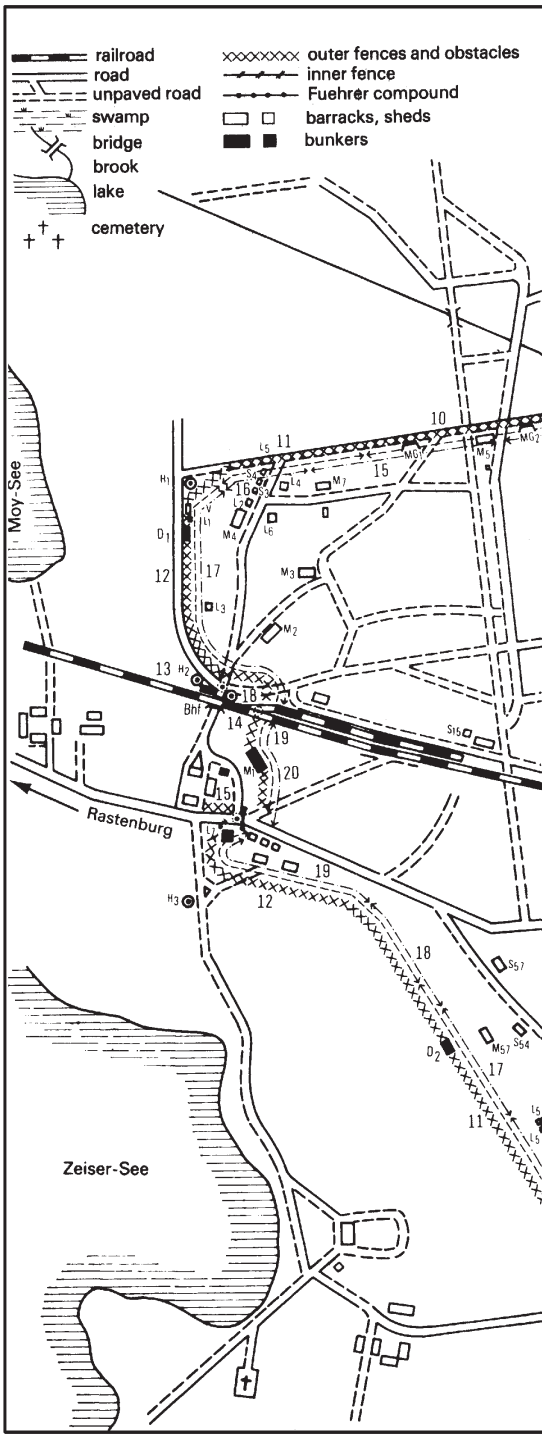
In 1969, after my second visit to the 'Wolfsschanze' ruins, I became acquainted with Professor Hoffmann. He, too, had long been interested in the precise arrangement of FHQu 'Wolfsschanze', having just published the first German edition of his monumental work exhaustively describing the military resistance within Hitler's Germany (Widerstand-Staatsstreich-Attentat, Munich, 1969), the high point of which is, of course, Graf von Stauffenberg's vain attempt to assassinate the Führer there on July 20, 1944. The map of FHQu 'Wolfsschanze' included in his book was by far the best of any previously published when measured by any standard. However, Professor Hoffmann had been unable to tour the site, itself, and his map had been derived largely from an unpublished sketch provided him by Konteradmiral a. D. Karl Jesko von Puttkamer, Hitler's former Navy Adjutant, who had drawn it from memory in 1945/46 while still a POW in the West. Nevertheless, both the von Puttkamer sketch and Professor Hoffmann's version contained major errors when compared with my on-site researches. Some of these were corrected in the 1970 edition of his book as well as in the 1977 English edition, translated by General Richard Barry: The History of the German Resistance, 1933-1945, published by MIT Press in the USA and Macdonald and Jane's in London.

However, the final version of his FHQu 'Wolfsschanze' map appears in his new book about the security measures involved in providing protection for the Führer, Die Sicherheit des Diktators, published by Piper Verlag, Munich 1975, an English edition of which will be published mid-1978 by Macmillan Press and MIT Press. This is as accurate, authoritative, and detailed a map of FHQu 'Wolfsschanze', as it was in the summer of 1944, as it is likely will ever be available. It is the result of our extensive surveys of the ruins in October/November 1972 and 1974, while some of its hitherto unknown details came from a map drawn in 1942 and only recently brought to light by Herr Eduard Kiefer who had served there as a Luftwaffe officer in the Führer-Begleit-Bataillon. The Kiefer map (centre pages) comes from the Bundesarchiv, Freiburg/Breisgau.

The official guides (Polish locals who have other occupations in Ketrzyn in autumn, winter, and spring) are responsible for conducting visitors through Sperrkreis I in the summer time, although one may wander freely about unattended if prefered. There is a very small entrance fee during the summer season only. I was quite disappointed to realize that the guides really know very little about the identities and former functions of the ruined buildings.

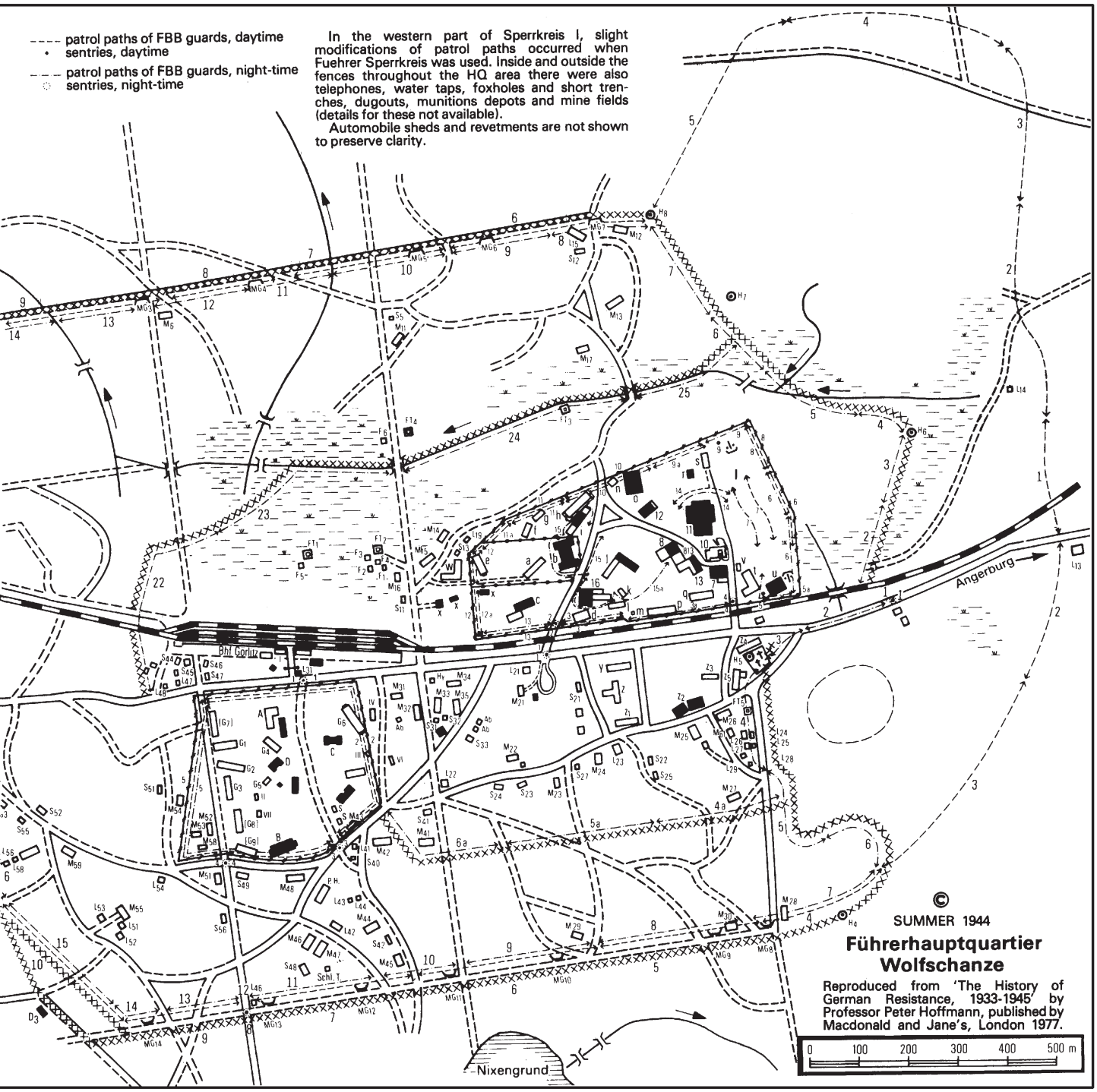
When I first visited the 'Wolfsschanze' ruins in 1966, one of the bunkers was pointed out by the local guides as 'Eva Braun's bunker'. That, of course, was patent nonsense, for Eva Braun never set foot in 'Wolfsschanze' nor any other Führerhauptquartier, remaining at the Berghof or in Munich until April 1945 when she went to Berlin to die with Hitler.

The Polish government has never provided



SPERRKREIS I AND IMMEDIATE VICINITY a-z non-official designations

a briefing hut
b guest's bunker
c Reich Press Chief
d garages
e RSD, SS-Begleitkommando
f RSD
g SS-Begleitkommando, valets
h typists
i RSD (Rattenhuber, Hoegl), mail room
j liaison persons of high Reich authorities (Bodenschatz, Hewel, Voss, SS-Obergruppenfuehrer Wolff, later Fegelein), Dr. Morell, barber Wollenhaupt (from Hotel 'Kaiserhof' in Berlin)
k cinema
l drivers
m heating plant
n sauna
o general shelter
p Kasino II
q Chief WFSt
r anti-aircraft bunker
s water basin
t Reich Marshal's house
u Goering's bunker
v Old Teahouse
w SS-Begleitkommando
x bunker
y liaison staff of Foreign Minister
z Speer, guests
z1 quarters
z2 general shelters
z3 liaison staff, Naval High Command
z4 liaison staff, Air Force High Command
z5 liaison staff, Naval High Command
7 Chief OKW
8 Fuehrer's Personal Adjutants
10 Kasino I and Teahouse
11 Fuehrer
12 Bormann
13 Fuehrer's Wehrmacht Adjutants
813 Army Personnel Office
16 communications bunker


patrol paths of FBB guards, daytime
sentries, daytime
patrol paths of FBB guards, night-time
sentries, night-time
In the western part of Sperrkreis I, slight modifications of patrol paths occurred when Fuehrer Sperrkreis was used. Inside and outside the fences throughout the HQ area there were also telephones, water taps, foxholes and short trenches, dugouts, munitions depots and mine fields (details for these not available).
Automobile sheds and revetments are not shown to preserve clarity.
Angerburg
Bhf Gorlitz
Nixengrund
© SUMMER 1944
Führerhauptquartier Wolfschanze
Reproduced from 'The History of German Resistance, 1933-1945' by Professor Peter Hoffmann, published by Macdonald and Jane's, London 1977.
0 100 200 300 400 500 m

SPERRKREIS II AND OTHER PARTS OF INSTALLATION A-Z non-official designations

I Commandant
II Commandant's quarters
III General Warlimont's quarters
IV sick bay
V sick bay
VI wash rooms
VII Sauna II
G1 WFSt
G2 WFSt
G3 WFSt
G4 Commandant Fuehrer HQ
G5 Staff FBB
G6 (G9) WFSt
A Kasino WFSt, Kasino Fuehrer HQ
B communications bunker (telephone exchange)
C Staff FBB
D heating plant, teleprinter exchange
M1 – M10 FBB quarters
M11 III Platoon 2nd Company FBB
M12 guard platoon 7 FFA
M13 searchlight section
M14 II Platoon 1st Company FBB (Lt. Jansson)
M15 II Platoon 1st Company FBB (Lt. Christiansen)
M16, M17 quarters
M21 1st Company FBB
M22 signal platoon
M23 I Platoon 1st Company FBB
M24 I Platoon 1st Company FBB (Lt. Stumpf)
M25 III Platoon 1st Company FBB (Oblt. Seldte)
M26 – M30 quarters (M28 formerly South Guard House
M31 communications barracks
M32 Oberwachtmeister Hildebrand
M33 troop quarters
M34 supplies and provisions
M35 officers' quarters
M41 supply section, 1st Comp. FBB
M42 Special Commando 'W'
M43 Uffz. Staff Commandant
M44 quarters
M45 Special Commando 'W'
M46 Fire-fighting company
M47 quarters
M48 other ranks, Staff Commandant
M51 II Platoon 3rd Company (Lt. Kneger)
M52, M53 NCOs and other ranks WFSt
M54 III Platoon 3rd Company (Oblt. Grotesmann)
M55 FBB (Oblt. Pieper)
M56 office, 3rd Company
M57 I Platoon 3rd Company (Oblt. Wegmann)
M58, M59, M61 quarters
L1 – L6 quarters
L7 Guard House West
L13 Guard House East
L14 guard quarters
L15 guard quarters
L19 guard quarters
L21 Guard House 1
L22 Oblt. Kessel
L23 office, 1st Company
L24 – L29 quarters
L31 Guard House II
L41 Special Commando 'W' Accounts
L42 quarters
L43 Special Commando 'W' office
L44 quarters Major Gnass
L46 Guard House South (formerly south-west Guard)
L47, L48, L51, L52 quarters
L53 officers' Kasino 3rd Company FBB
L55 – L58 quarters
Ab latrines
D gun emplacements (bunkers)
F anti-aircraft gun emplacements
FT anti-aircraft gun towers
H machine-gun towers
Hy hydrant
MG machine-gun emplacements

Above: **The Fuehrer exercises his Alsatian, Blondi, in the open meadow east of the Fuehrerbunker, probably in August 1943. His exercise walks were taken around the fringes of the open space.** *Below:* **Dr. Raiber's June 1966 photograph of the meadow, gradually disappearing as the Poles plant new trees.**

the guides with a single historical item which could help them in their work. It is quite apparent that until recently the official policy has been to ignore the purely historical aspect of 'Wolfsschanze', the ruins being exhibited merely as tangible evidence of Communism's triumph over the Nazis; an object lesson in political indoctrination at the expense of historical elucidation. The series of lakes in the region attract many Polish campers, and, on the only modern reasonably large scale Polish map of the district published chiefly for their use, the site of the former FHQu 'Wolfsschanze' is marked simply as 'a ruin', located in Sperrkreis II, southwest of Bahnhof Görlitz. The sites of 'Mauerwald' (OKH) and 'Hochwald' (Himmler) are not even identified on the map; there are no signs on the approach roads directing visitors to these areas nor other confirming identification of the sites when they have been 'found'.

One of the 'Wolfsschanze' guides went with us when we searched for and found the 'Hochwald' bunkers; he had not previously known of their location. 'In the kingdom of the blind, the one-eyed man is king', and he was very eager to learn from us! These ruins stand on a hill in a well-ventilated, pleasant, evergreen forest and contrast sharply with the swampy, stagnant lowland setting at 'Wolfsschanze'.

The OKH 'Mauerwald' HQ ruins are also extant, and at the southern edge is the bare foundation of an unfinished bunker which surely would have been the most massive in the entire area. Presumably Hermann Göring's 'Robinson' HQ was also reduced to ruins in 1945, although as its location is now just beyond the Polish frontier in Russia, this cannot be confirmed.

In 1966, 1969, and 1972 a 'map' of Sperrkreis II, including Sperrkreis I, painted on a large signboard for the tourists, stood near the modern entrance to Sperrkreis I, east of Bahnhof Görlitz. Despite its wealth of detail, the map was incredibly inaccurate, even disoriented, especially when one considers how long those who had compiled it had been able to carry out their investigations there. In 1974, however, this 'map' had conspicuously disappeared, and we were told that work was progressing on its replacement. Upon closer questioning it became clear that the new map was being derived from the one Professor Hoffmann had included in the 1970 edition of his Widerstand-Staatsstreich-Attentat book, a copy of which he had brought to Poland and given to one of the guides at the time of our visit there in 1972. They had not planned to acknowledge him as their source, but he was, nevertheless, kind enough to point out that their new map would be obsolete before it came into use!

It is not strange, therefore, that we have been repeatedly denied access to documents or maps relating to 'Wolfsschanze' which, we have good reason to believe, are deposited in Polish archives. The same applies to Polish aerial photographs which must have been taken over the ruins. Professor Hoffmann was finally given one or two ground-level photographs which seem to have been taken not long after the war, but they added little to the views we, ourselves, had obtained.

The only airfield in the vicinity is at Olsztyn (formerly Allenstein), about 90 kilometers west of Ketrzyn, but this is for official Polish use only, prohibited to Polish and Western civilians. We had been categorically refused permission to arrange for photographic flights over the ruins, especially hoping to obtain infra-red aerials. FHQu 'Wolfsschanze' had its airfield, Flugplatz Rastenburg, located on a plateau south-west of Sperrkreis II. Entrance to it now is strictly forbidden, although we could never comprehend the reason as at no time did we hear sounds emanating from its direction to suggest that it might currently be used as an airfield by the Polish military. Because of its height above the surrounding roads it is impossible to view the former Flugplatz and ascertain the current status of the ruins there. There was also a small landing field for Fieseler Storch light observation aircraft east of Sperrkreis II, but this is now simply a ploughed field without evidence of its earlier function in that respect.

Thus, one can get to the ruins only by rail or

by automobile, and I have utilized both routes, departing from Warsaw. However, we have found that the best way to travel there, all things considered, is by automobile leaving from Berlin and then passing eastward by way of Frankfurt an der Oder (DDR/Polish border crossing), Swiebodzin, Pniewy, Poznan, Gniezno, Inowroclaw, Torun, Brodnica, Ostroda, Olsztyn, Mragowo, to Ketrzyn. This is a distance of about 715 kilometers, and it takes approximately 10-12 hours if one pushes hard, making fuel stops only, and resists pausing to investigate the many interesting attractions encountered en route.

We stayed at Ketrzyn's only hotel, an old Rastenburg structure, which somehow managed to survive the destruction which was the fate of those around it in January 1945. Ketrzyn is provincial Poland, and the hotel accommodations are primitive, not for the faint of heart to say the very least. However, I have noticed a slow but steady improvement in this facility over the years. In 1966 the only running water provided for guests' bathing trickled from a cold water faucet protruding from a brick wall about a half meter above the ground in one of the ground floor storerooms. The plumbing remains unsophisticated by Western standards, but now there are at least two bathtubs, sometimes supplied with lukewarm water, for the use of the hotel's guests. There is no dining room, but there is a television receiver in the lobby which plays to a standing-room-only audience each evening. We chose to subsist on a diet of bread (the incomparably delicious large round loaves such as are no longer found on bakers' shelves in America) and cheese, also very palatable, washed down with bottled mineral water. We purchased these items from a local 'general store' and kept them in our room at the hotel. Occasionally in the evening we dined out at the 'Kosmos', Ketrzyn's restaurant/night club, where the food was good, the live music on Saturday night modern (but conservative) and enjoyable, and the vodka peerless and very potent.

Above: **Field-Marshal Karl Gustav von Mannerheim, Finn Commander-in-Chief, is received on June 27, 1942 at Rastenburg Flugplatz. Schaub gives the 'deutscher Gruss' while von Puttkamer and Oberst Thomas salute in military fashion. Visitors today are absolutely forbidden to view and photograph this area.**

Above: **The open area south-east of Sperrkreis I which was used by Fieseler Storch aircraft requiring only a short take-off space. Now a farmer's field, it appears here in Dr. Raiber's June 1966 photograph looking toward the south-east from the top of the Goeringbunker.** *Left:* **The Ketrzyn 'Hilton'.**

A sign in Ketrzyn and another a few kilometers west of the ruins direct the visitor to 'Hitler's Headquarters'. The modern tourist entrance to Sperrkreis I is between Bahnhof Görlitz and the approximate position of the former western north/south barrier of that compound. A parking place, chiefly for buses, was cleared there and was, in 1966, dirt-surfaced. In 1974, it was enlarged and asphalted, while fragments of ruins which were encountered during this process were simply buried by a bulldozer. Just north of the parking area is an L-shaped building, one of the very few two-story structures at 'Wolfsschanze', which appears not to have been damaged at all. It was probably built in 1944 as barracks for the SS-Begleitkommando which had progressively increased in size and outgrown its quarters throughout the war. A restaurant occupies the ground floor, and in the off-season the upper floor houses some sort of Polish youth group.

During my first two visits I was puzzled by numerous trench-like ditches which crossed and recrossed some areas in Sperrkreis I, Sperrkreis II, and also at 'Mauerwald'. They had certainly not been defensive entrenchments, for they can often be seen in the ground beneath burned-out floors inside buildings. Following more extensive investigations in 1972 and 1974, we have concluded that they are the traces of excavations dug by the Poles shortly after the war in order to salvage the extensive German underground communication cables.

We have sometimes encountered difficulty in making identifications of specific buildings. This annoying problem persisted even after Professor Hoffmann had constructed an accurate map and showed it and photographs of the ruins in question to Germans who had served for long intervals at FHQu 'Wolfsschanze'. We could not understand why it was so difficult for them to make key identifications. The answer seems to lie in the fact that the buildings with which the problems are associated were generally among those constructed in summer 1944, and, since the Führerhauptquartier was evacuated only a few months later (November 1944), they simply had not stood long enough to be remembered. For example, identification of the L-shaped two-story building north of the modern tourist entrance, mentioned above, was especially difficult, and we are still not absolutely certain that it was, as finally described by Professor Hoffmann, a new SS-Begleitkommando-Baracke. All of the former Führerhauptquartier people were familiar with the original Führerbunker but could recall little about the massive new No. 11 which replaced it in summer /autumn 1944, completely changing its appearence.

Moreover, it is interesting that some very obvious objects at FHQu 'Wolfsschanze' were just not noticed. For several years Admiral

Above left: **Today, buses carrying tourists visiting the former Sperrkreis I area park south of the former SS-Begleitkommando barracks as shown in author's August 1969 photograph. The gravel surface has subsequently been asphalted.** *Right:* **This November 1974 view is south across the metal-lined fire water reservoir towards the north face of the Fuehrerbunker beyond. A large fragment from the Flakbunker, which had stood just west of reservoir, was toppled over its south-west corner in January 1945.**

von Puttkamer spent at least a portion of nearly every day at the OKM buildings in Sperrkreis II, south of the eastern entrance into Sperrkreis I. Yet in his 1945 sketch of FHQu 'Wolfsschanze' he did not include a civilian cemetery located immediately east of and behind one of them. When Professor Hoffmann told him that, not only was this cemetery indicated on the relevant pre-war German topographic map, but that I, myself, had strolled through it in 1966 and had seen headstones inscribed with death dates of local citizens buried there (within the Führerhauptquartier, no less!) as late as January 1942, he remained incredulous.

We climbed up on the towering piles of rubble occasionally when it was necessary to obtain important perspectives, although this is discouraged during the tourist season for reasons of safety. We were told that climbers have fallen in the past, sometimes suffering serious injuries. Access to the interiors of the big bunkers beyond their entrance corridors is impossible. In most instances this is because the heavy roofs collapsed when FHQu 'Wolfsschanze' was demolished by the Wehrmacht in January 1945. In other cases it appears that the Poles later may have destroyed passages into some of the remaining interiors so that visitors would not be endangered by collapsing masonry.

Presumably when they evacuated 'Wolfsschanze' in January 1945, the Germans destroyed the railroad tracks which had passed through the Führerhauptquartier in the Görlitz forest. After the war, the Poles relaid a single track which appears to have been the middle line of the three which had been at Bahnhof Görlitz. This line, which passed through Rastenburg, Angerburg, Grossgarten (now Pozezdrze) and then on to Lötzen (now Gizycko), operates now only to Angerburg, the segment through Pozedrze not having been restored by the Poles after the war. As mentioned, there is now no siding adjacent to the long Bahnhof Görlitz platform — which is quite recognizable today — nor a northern siding. When the Bahnhof bunker was blown up, its ruins were hurled northward over the platform. The walls and foundations (including a basement) of the old brick station stand today, but none of the other structures in that area can now be seen.

Fire hydrants appear frequently in contemporary Sperrkreis I photographs, but no trace of them can be found today. There was also a large fire water cistern, built just north of the Führerbunker, and its metal-lined, sloping sides are now in an excellent state of preservation.

Only the barest traces remain of the security fences which had encircled Sperrkreis I and Sperrkeis II, but concrete platforms now stand exactly where some of the machine gun towers are known to have been erected along the perimeters. In some instances, the steel supports for the counterweighted wooden pole barriers at the gates may still be seen. Within Sperrkeis I and II one can still see, in a remarkably good state of preservation, many vehicle revetments (two-meter-deep pits sloped at one end) into which vehicles would have been driven in the event of an enemy air attack.

The Führerbunker ruin in Sperrkreis I is most impressive. Originally, the Führerbunker had been little more than a concrete house to which wooden and brick sections were appended. Additions were made to it during the second (1943) 'Wolfsschanze' construction period and again beginning in spring 1944. An enormous new central part emerged from this reconstruction. In this last renovation its walls and roof were reinforced by adding another shell of concrete, the two layers being separated by a space, often containing gravel fill, the purpose of which was to cushion the effect of hits by the heaviest bombs then known. The original ceilings are reported to have been about three meters thick, and four more meters were said to have been added in 1944. We measured slabs of ceiling 4.8 meters thick, so it may well be that the total thickness exceeded seven meters plus the air/gravel space between the sheaths. We estimated the height of the central part of the Führerbunker as about fourteen meters.

The massive central part is flanked by less-heavily-constructed east and west wings, the roofs of which have collapsed to within two or three meters of the ground. In the east wing furring strips which once supported interior panelling, as well as the remains of what was once a Führerbunker fireplace, can be seen. The original Führerbunker windows were covered over completely when the 1944 outer shell of concrete was poured so that the north face now presents as a sheer, naked concrete wall, canted slightly from the vertical and pierced only by two doorway apertures which had been fitted with double steel doors, the latter subsequently salvaged by the local Poles just after the war. Behind the north face of the Führerbunker's central part, the giant structure has been gutted by the demolition charges which were set off in its bowels.

Although the visitor is overwhelmingly impressed by the sheer enormity of the ruins, one is equally stunned when contemplating the magnitude of the explosive charges which must have been necessary to have ripped them apart so violently. Huge fragments of steel-laced concrete, often as large as small houses, were avulsed and now lie appreciable distances from their origins. A large crack has rent the immense north face of the Führerbunker from top to bottom, and its side walls have been convulsed, twisted, and thrust into unbelievable bias for such huge masses of reinforced concrete. The thick roof behind the north face, above the site where the main charge must have been sown, has simply disappeared!

Professor Hoffmann carefully measures the dimensions of the bunker at Bahnhof Goerlitz in November 1974. He stands on the ramp; the view is south from tracks. Much of the brick station, west of the bunker, is still recognizable.

The Fuehrerbunker today. *Top left:* November 1974 view of the north face of the Fuehrerbunker's central part, It measured 37 meters across and the east and west wings added another 25 meters. The height was estimated at over 13.5 meters. Note the huge vertical crack and the two doorways. *Top right:* June 1966 view taken inside the gutted Fuehrerbunker toward the collapsed roof behind the north face. Enormous slabs have slid into the crater left by the January 1945 demolition. *Above:* In this June 1966 photograph, Polish visitors stand on the fallen roof of the Fuehrerbunker's less massive east wing whose floor was slightly beneath ground level. *Right:* The axis of this view of the Fuehrerbunker, taken by Dr. Raiber in August 1969, is south-east from a position north of the fallen west wing. A remnant of the protected bunker intake/exhaust overhangs at top right. The roof of the west wing was attached below it before destruction of Fuehrerbunker. Wooden cleats, to which camouflage nets were attached five/six meters high, are still visible on some trees.

The other massive 'Wolfsschanze' bunkers were similarly gutted. The north and south wings of the Gästebunker were actually torn from their foundations, lifted up, and shifted off their former axes several meters by the tremendous explosions. A large section of the Göringbunker's south wall has been blasted loose, as though cut by a giant knife, and has tilted outward to reveal the inner layer. Most of the concrete-covered brick barracks-type buildings, the most common 'Wolfsschanze' structures, were mined so that their roofs simply collapsed rendering them unusable, but many of them still stand in good condition, only their interiors having been put to the fire, and now trees twenty meters and more in height grow from some of the twisted concrete bunker roofs.

In January 1945, the Lagebaracke demolition charges were placed so that the walls toppled outward and the heavy roof collapsed directly downward between them to the ground. Today one may stand on the fallen roof over the area at the north-east end of the Lagebaracke where the von Stauffenberg bomb exploded on July 20, 1944.

Appearing as massive, truncated pyramids, the Allgemeine Bunker should be viewed as above-ground air and land attack shelters for the Führerhauptquartier personnel who worked in the surrounding, more vulnerable barracks. Gun emplacements were built into their roofs, as was the case with the Führer- and Göringbunkers. It should be emphasized, despite all 'reports' to the contrary, that there was no underground construction at FHQu 'Wolfsschanze' beyond a few simple basements because of the high water table in that boggy region of the forest. It is said that the basement under Kasino I — into which one may still descend — was requested by Fritz Kannenberg, the Führer's Household Superintendent, for use as a wine cellar. When tracing the outer perimeter of 'Wolfsschanze' as well as the northern boundary of Sperrkreis I, we often found ourselves up to our knees in muck. There is one swamp less than 100 meters from the Führerbunker. These surrounding wet lands made the Führerhauptquartier much easier to defend against enemy parachute attacks, and that, presumably, was one of the important considerations when the Görlitz Forest was selected in 1940 to be the site of the Führer's Headquarters. For the Führerhauptquartier personnel, however, the choice made it most unpleasant, to say the very least, compelling them to share an existence with hordes of flies, mosquitos, and other creatures for whom the marshlands were the natural habitat. This swampy ground also did not aid the task of mine clearance by Polish Army detachments which still continued long after the war ended, resulting, we were told, in not infrequent casualties.

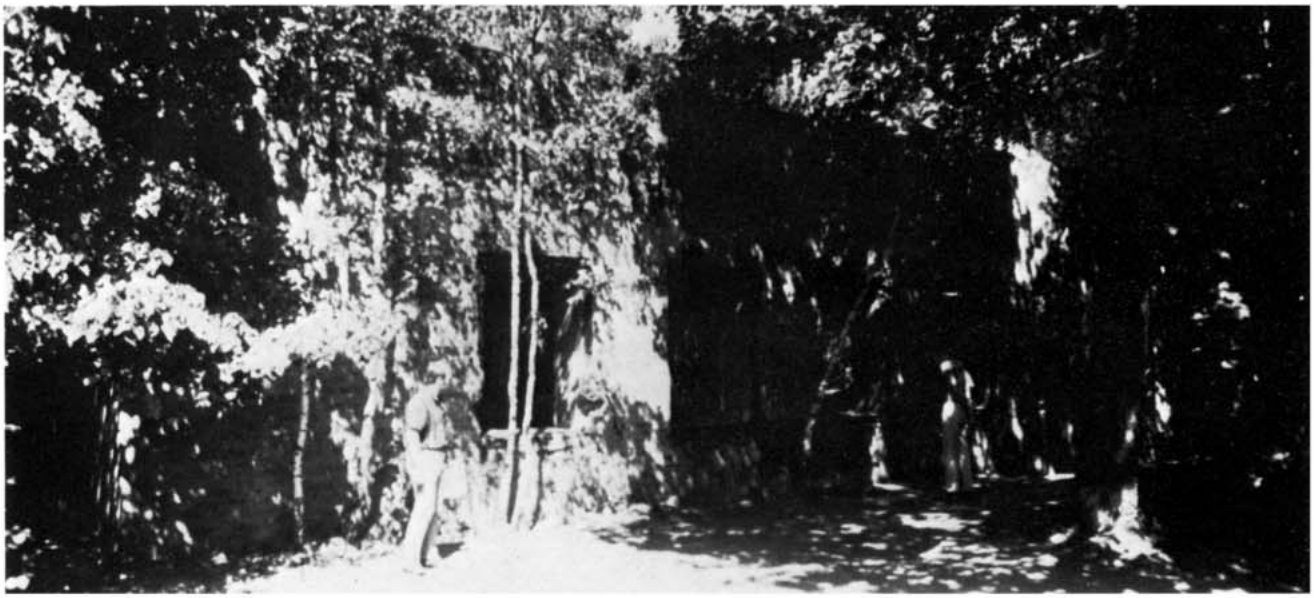
Sites in the West associated with the Second World War, even those of far less historical significance than 'Wolfsschanze', were stripped clean of all items of the remotest souvenir value long, long ago. But after more than thirty years it is possible to find vestiges of the Führerhauptquartier among the ruins at 'Wolfsschanze'. In 1969, the springs and shreds of incinerated upholstery from a divan still stood along the east wall inside Kasino II in Sperrkreis I. I found a corroded key, presumably from a desk which, itself, had burned and disappeared, in the Wehrmachtführungsstab-Baracke just east of the latter. In 1974, I also picked up a fragment of barbed wire which was certainly once part of the southern barrier of the Führersperrkreis and another from the fence which had enclosed Sperrkreis A, bent around the base of a tree east of Neues Teehaus ruin where it must have been blown in the big January 1945 explosion. We found thick lengths of communication cable in the huge Sperrkreis II Nachrichtenbunker and even a piece of insulated conductor in the Führerbunker. Fragments of the

Above: **Photograph taken in August 1969 with axis of view towards the north-west. Dr. Raiber stands near the south-east corner of the Goeringbunker. The lower part of the thick southern wall was toppled outward by the January 1945 explosion. The rim of the roof's south-western Flak emplacement can be seen upper left/centre. The southern Sperrkreis I security barrier once ran east/west between the author and the bunker's south face. Relatively unencroached upon by vegetation, the Goeringbunker is the most photogenic of the Sperrkreis I big bunkers.**

Above: **Dr. Raiber photographed standing on the parapet of Goeringbunker's north-east roof Flak emplacement in June 1966. One can gain access to it by climbing iron rungs, still completely intact, in a vertical 'tunnel' extending upward from the ground-level entrance corridor running behind the bunker's north face.**

Above: **This August 1969 photograph shows the thickness (nearly three meters) of the Goeringbunker's south wall, canted outward. Though split apart, one can distinguish the separated inner and outer shells of west face.**

Nearly identical views of south-west corner of the Allgemeiner Bunker in Sperrkreis I show how summer foliage hides it photographed by Dr. Raiber in November 1974 *(above left)* **and June 1966** *(above right).* **The numbers, etc., above the doorway are phoney, painted for a recent Polish motion picture filmed 'on location'. No original inscriptions on the bunkers survive.**

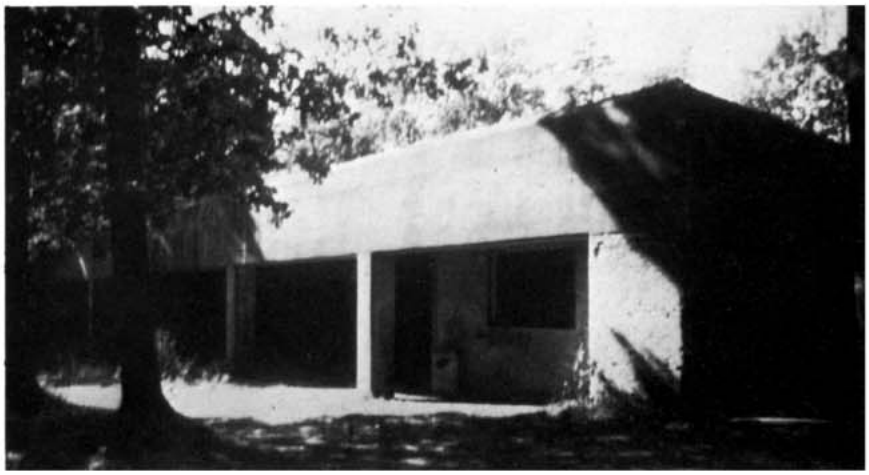


camouflage nets, 'chicken wire' to which were attached brown and green plastic strips, can be seen today on the roof of the Führerbunker ruin!

In the gutted bowels of former No. 11 we also discovered the partly buried remains of a bed spring, and who can say it had not once been part of Adolf Hitler's bed? Thousands of china shards are strewn through the Kasino in Sperrkreis II, as well as in the former Reichsmarschallhaus.

However, the broken china (complete with National Socialist insignia dated 1941), which once littered the floor of Kasino II in Sperrkreis I is gone forever: In the autumn of 1974, another 'reconstruction period' was undertaken at former FHQu 'Wolfsschanze' when the Poles created a new 'Sperrkreis'. Windows, doors, and floors in Kasino II and in the Wehrmachtführungsstab building were replaced and surrounded with a barbed-wire-topped cyclone fence, although in this era its gates are not patrolled by young blonde giants wearing the Sigrunen-flashes on their right uniform collars! These buildings are now used by the Poles for the storage of construction equipment and are no longer accessible to the visitor. We noticed also that masons were in the process of closing in with brick the southern ports of the garage, south of the Sperrkreis I Nachrichtenbunker. Oblivious to the fact that they are tampering with the evidence of history, the Poles are changing the face of former FHQu 'Wolfsschanze'. It is a pity, and one can only hope that the authorities will come to their senses and reverse such an irresponsible policy before further renovations render it irretrievably unrecognizable.

Above: **Dr. Raiber's August 1969 photograph of the south face of the Reichsmarschallhaus. This L-shaped brick structure, just inside eastern Sperrkreis I gate, was used by Goering infrequently. The tall figure on the right is the author's friend, Dr. Robert Misiewicz of Stoughton, Massachusetts whose interest in the ruins had been kindled. A Pole watches on the left.** *Below:* **An August 1969 view of the south-east corner of the main garage, south of Sperrkreis I Nachrichtenbunker. The Poles have subsequently bricked in the car ports.**



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Hotel 'Turystyczny', 'Mazur-Tourist',
ul. Zjazdowa 1, Ketrzyn, Poland.

Hitler inspects his new FHQu 'Wehrwolf' in the Russian Ukraine shortly after arrival there mid-July 1942.

The other Eastern Führerhauptquartiere

During the nearly three and one half years (June 1941 to November 1944) that 'Wolfsschanze' was the main Führerhauptquartier, there were also several other facilities in the East which must be mentioned.

After the Balkanfeldzug, the Führersonderzug never again served as a Führerhauptquartier, although Hitler continued to use it frequently throughout the rest of the war for travel between his Hauptquartiere and Berlin, Munich and Berchtesgaden, etc. When he was at FHQu 'Wolfsschanze', the Führersonderzug generally remained under camouflage on the third (northern) railroad siding at Bahnhof Görlitz.

There was no residence set aside at FHQu 'Wolfsschanze' for Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler, and his East Prussian Feldkommandostelle, known as 'Hochwald' (High Woods), consisting of barracks and reinforced concrete bunkers, was situated near Grossgarten about 25 kilometers east-north-east of 'Wolfsschanze'. Himmler's Sonderzug 'Heinrich', renamed 'Steiermark' after February 1, 1943 and 'Transport 44' in the summer of 1944, and Joachim von Ribbentrop's Sonderzug 'Westfalen', were usually sheltered in a deep railway cut at Grossgarten when not in use. Von Ribbentrop chose to live, as was his custom, in a mansion, Schloss Steinort, which was situated fifteen kilometers from 'Wolfsschanze'.

The field echelon of the OKH had most of its offices and quarters in the Mauerwald Forest about twenty kilometers north-east of 'Wolfsschanze', south-west of Angerburg, although a few OKH sections were also quartered in Angerburg and Lötzen. Its code name was 'Mauerwald', and it was partitioned into 'Fritz' and 'Quelle'. It had been necessary for the officers from OKH who were expected to take part in the daily conference at 'Wolfsschanze' to commute back and forth by trolley car. OKM had no Hauptquartier in East Prussia, remaining at its wartime facility 'Koralle' at Bernau, north of Berlin, until just before the end. OKL was at Goldap, just west of the Rominten Forest.

In addition to 'Wolfsschanze', two other sites in the German-occupied East were hurriedly developed for Hitler's use before the beginning of the campaign in Russia. Anlage 'Mitte' (Camp Center) was near Tomaszow, south-east of Lodz in central Poland. The other stood north of a railroad between Strzyzow and Frysztak, west of Przemysl in what is now south-eastern Poland, and was called Anlage 'Süd' (Installation South). There is no evidence the Führer ever visited Anlage 'Mitte', but he met Mussolini at Anlage 'Süd' on August 27, 1941. Both dictators travelled in their special trains, Mussolini's being parked at Anlage 'Süd', concealed from aerial observation in an artificial tunnel made of concrete-reinforced frame covered with camouflage material. Führersonderzug 'Amerika' remained at Strzyzow, and Hitler commuted back and forth by automobile column from it to talk with the Duce at Anlage 'Süd'. They remained there the night of August 27/28 and then flew from Krosno airfield, south-east of Frysztak, to visit various field headquarters in the vicinity of Uman in the Ukraine on the 28th. There was a Teehaus among the buildings at Anlage 'Süd'. Both Anlagen should, perhaps, be viewed as alternate command posts to which the Führerhauptquartier could have been rapidly transferred if necessary depending on the situation on the Eastern Front during the early stages of the campaign. Red Army units in the Bialystok salient stood less than 100 kilometers south-east of 'Wolfsschanze' on June 22, 1941, posing a very real threat to the Führerhauptquartier in the event of a breakthrough once the fighting started. Hitler, himself, expressed concern over this very possibility.

So that the Führer could more closely follow the Wehrmacht offensive in the summer of 1942 toward Stalingrad and the Caucasus, on July 16, 1942, the Führerhauptquartier was moved from East Prussia to Anlage 'Eichenhain' (Camp Oak Grove), now renamed FHQu 'Wehrwolf', in the Russian

Hitler and entourage inspect the 'Wehrwolf' swimming pool, although it was never used for that purpose by Fuehrerhauptquartier people.

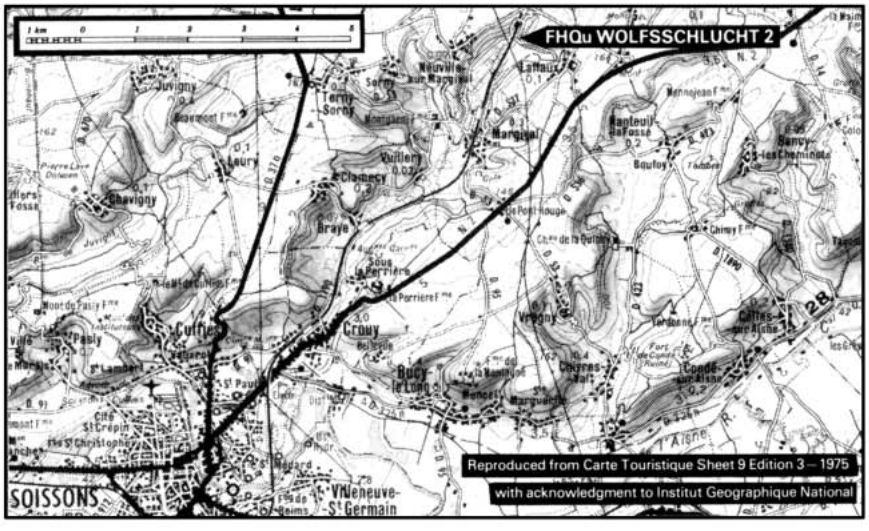
Ukraine. It stood in a wood about eight kilometers north of Vinnitsa, just east of the Vinnitsa/Shitomir road. Most of the buildings were pleasantly rustic, but there were two squat bunkers, one attached to the Führerhaus and an Allgemeiner Bunker. There was also a swimming pool which, it is reported, was never used for that purpose on a single occasion. One unusual feature was an extensive underground sentry post network for the Führer-Begleit-Bataillon throughout the wood. Water and electrical supplies for the Führerhauptquartier were achieved only after an enormous effort. Himmler moved to his Ukrainian command post 'Hegewald' (Forest Nursery), previously codenamed 'Solu' and 'Waldhof', at Shitomir, about 100 kilometers north of FHQu 'Wehrwolf'. Part of the OKH also came to the Ukraine from its 'Mauerwald' HQ and was quartered in Vinnitsa. The Führer left 'Wehrwolf' on November 1, 1942. He came back on February 17, 1943 to observe Generalfeldmarschall von Manstein's brilliant counterstroke in the Donetz Basin which stopped the Red Army's westward surge after its Stalingrad victory, and he finally departed for the last time on March 13.

Above right: **Hitler meets Mussolini at Anlage 'Sued' in south-eastern Poland on August 27, 1941. Beyond the Duce's Sonderzug is an artificial, camouflaged tunnel where it was kept hidden. Heinz Linge (left) carries a brief case.**

Above: **The editor's April 1977 view north along tracks at Margival. The FHQu 'W 2' Fuehrerbunker can be seen on the hill on the right. Used after war by American forces in NATO, the area is now a French commando training site.**

FHQu 'Wolfsschlucht 2'

On June 17, 1944 Hitler travelled from the Obersalzberg to meet Generalfeldmarschälle von Rundstedt and Rommel at a cluster of bunkers which had been built adjacent to the southern end of a railroad tunnel near Margival, about fifteen kilometers north-east of Soissons, France. Hitler, together with his staff, had flown to Metz the previous evening in four Focke-Wulf Condors, and, to avoid accidents, the entire German fighter force along the route was grounded. Early on the 17th, with the Luftwaffe patrolling the road westward from Rheims, Hitler drove to Margival. He stayed only long enough to discuss the serious German situation in Normandy and to congratulate the flying-bomb commander General Erich Heinemann. This Führerhauptquartier was called 'Wolfsschlucht 2' or 'W 2', as the former June 1940 Führerhauptquartier site at Brûly-de-Pesche was now referred to as 'Wolfsschlucht 1', or 'W 1'. The Margival construction had been carried out in 1943/1944, intended as a battle headquarters for the Führer when the



expected Allied invasion of Fortress Europe came. It was not built in the summer of 1940 for the Führer's use during Operation 'Seelöwe' as is generally reported; as we have seen 'Adlerhorst' had been reserved for that purpose.

'WOLFSSCHLUCHT 2' TODAY

Although, as Dr. Raiber has explained, 'Wolfsschlucht 2' was only used once by Hitler, nevertheless, it is the only former FHQu existing today where all the buildings remain intact.

The bunkers at Margival were not destroyed and were taken over by American forces after the war. The complex later became European NATO HQ with the addition of many new concrete buildings and bunkers and a wireless tower was erected on the hill overlooking the Kasino. A huge American-style bar was installed in the Kasino and changing rooms built on the side for the use of bathers using the nearby pool. The Führer and OKW bunker had a surround of extra rooms built on but the original German construction can still be seen projecting above in the centre.

In 1963, General de Gaulle expelled NATO forces from France and the base remained unoccupied until 1969 when it was taken over by the present occupiers, the French 6th Commando, as a training establishment. A mock wooden village has been erected just below the Führerbunker and various assault courses laid out. Today, in typically French style, each building has been given a girl's name — the Führerbunker now being called Marie-Aude and the OKW bunker Marie-Jeanne!

Because the bunkers are within a restricted military training area they are not open for inspection although they remain unoccupied. However good views can be obtained from outside the camp from the hillside beyond Neuville de Margival and one can approach the opposite side of the railway line beside the old level crossing. This was closed by the Germans and has never been re-opened. The line is in current use by SCNF and the tunnel through the hillside, intended for Hitler's Sonderzug, traversed daily. An extension built as an offshoot within the main tunnel has now been sealed up.

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Hotel/Restaurant 'Picardie', 6 rue Neuve St. Martin, 02200 Soissons, France. Telephone: (23) 532193

An RAF photograph of 'Wolfsschlucht 2' taken by No. 542 Squadron on July 6, 1944, just three weeks after Hitler's visit (Crown Copyright via Keele University).

Under new management, the Fuehrerbunker is now Marie-Aude.

The American addition nearly obscures the original bunker.

The OKW block, completely bare inside, is now Marie-Jeanne.

The German swimming pool later used by US NATO troops.

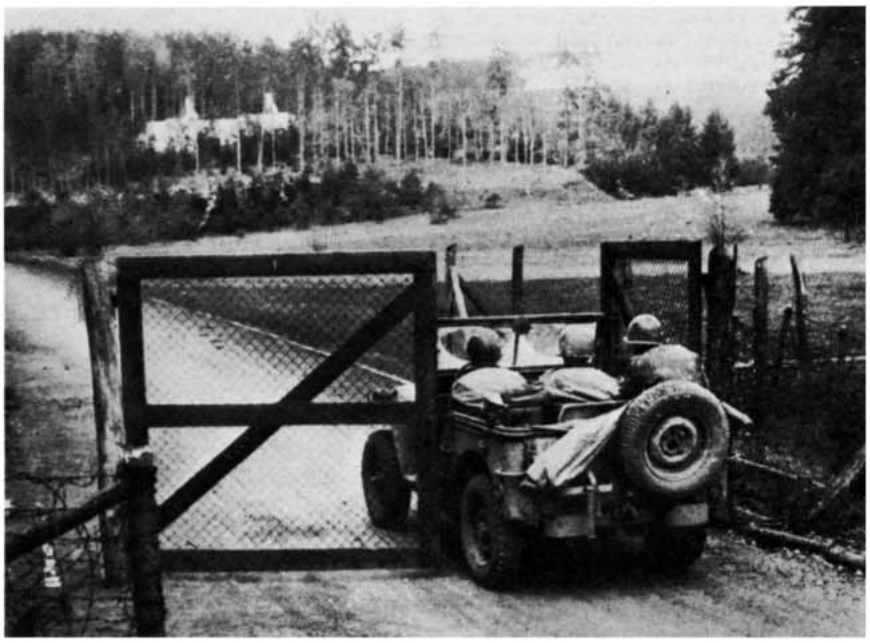
FHQu 'Adlerhorst'

In the summer of 1944, the status of the various field Führerhauptquartiere was as follows:

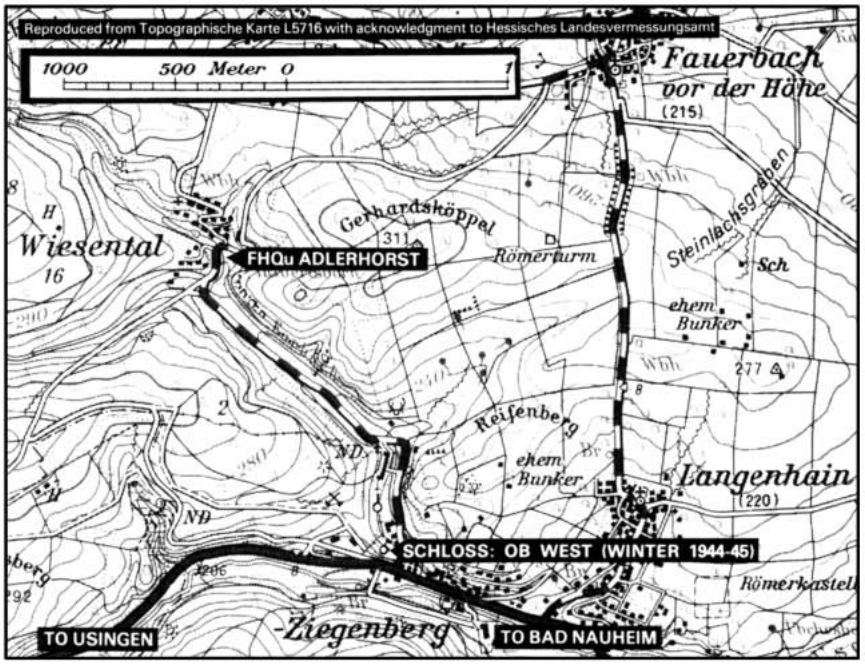
In addition to 'Wolfsschanze', a cluster of facilities at Berchtesgaden as well as former FHQu 'Felsennest', now known as Anlage 'Falke' (Site Falcon) and Anlage 'WO' at Rodert, south-west of Cologne, were fully available for use if required. 'W 2' had been turned over to Heeresgruppe B blocking the Western Allies' advance eastward from Normandy. 'Brunhilde', near Diedenhofen (Thionville) in north-eastern France (Lorraine), was ready but would soon be evacuated, as General Patton's Third Army was approaching rapidly. Anlage 'Siegfried', at Pullach, south of Munich, was only partly usable. Work had begun on 'Lothar', 'Hagen', 'Wolfsturm', 'Wolfsberg' and 'Olga', etc., in the vicinity of Ohrdruf in the foothills of the Thüringer Wald, west of Erfurt. Considerable progress had also been made on the construction of 'Rüdiger', a huge constellation of facilities west of Breslau in Silesia, including Anlage 'Riese' (Installation Giant) near Bad Charlottenbrunn for the Führer and OKW, and another for OKH at Hirschberg. Had this vast group been completed it would have been by far the most elaborate of all the Führerhauptquartiere. By September 1944, at least 150,000,000 Reichsmark (about $60,000,000 or £35 million at the rate of exchange then prevailing, truly an enormous sum for the time) had been consumed in the totally useless construction, for there is no record that the Führer once even glimpsed the site!

If 'Seelöwe' had been executed in summer 1940, Hitler would have used FHQu 'Adlerhorst' in the Taunus, and OKH and OKM would have occupied sites prepared for them at Giessen, about thirty kilometers north-east of Ziegenberg. In the summer of 1944, this complex was known as 'Amt 600' (Exchange 600), but its communication equipment had still not been completely installed. Nevertheless, 'Adlerhorst', where the very first Führerhauptquartier construction had been initiated in autumn 1939, would now be utilized as the last of Adolf Hitler's field headquarters.

'Wacht am Rhein' (Watch on the Rhine) or 'Abwehrschlacht im Westen' (Defensive Battle in the West), but better known to the Western Allies as the 'Battle of the Bulge' or the 'Rundstedt Offensive', began at 5.30 a.m. on December 16, 1944. Hitler had left Berlin in Führersonderzug 'Brandenburg' at 5.00 p.m., on December 10, but there was still a four-and-one-half hour drive from the station where he disembarked at 3.00 a.m. next morning before reaching the bunker complex at Wiesental, about two kilometers north-west of Schloss Ziegenberg. This part of FHQu 'Adlerhorst' was known as 'Amt 500' (Exchange 500) and consisted of the usual bunker for Hitler, as well as Kasino I adjacent to it, and others for the Wehrmachtführungsstab (most of which was quartered at Friedberg, south of Bad Nauheim), the Reichspressechef, and Martin Bormann. North of the Führer's bunker was a rustic chalet of wooden construction for the OKW leadership. As the Westfront was an OKW Theater of Operations, OKH continued to oversee the Ostfront and remained at Zossen during 'Wacht am Rhein'. It was therefore necessary for Chef des Generalstabes des Heeres, now Generaloberst Heinz Guderian, to commute between Berlin and Ziegenberg in order to confer with the Führer during this period. There was also a bunker for the Reichssicherheitsdienst standing south of the others. The bunkers had underground rooms, although this subterranean aspect was not extensive, and were very plain but heavily constructed.



Above: **In 1945, GIs pass the security barrier around FHQu 'Adlerhorst', the first field Fuehrerhauptquartier built and the last to be used.** *Below:* **This solitary post is all that remains of the former security fence — photograph taken in April 1977 on the Ziegenberg/Wiesental road.**



None, however, was nearly as massive as the great mountains of reinforced concrete at FHQu 'Wolfsschanze' vacated by Hitler just three weeks earlier. Unfortunately, no exterior photographs taken at 'Amt 500' when the Führer was there appear to have survived the war.

Kasino II stood about 100 meters south of the bunkers, near a gate in the security barrier encircling Sperrkreis I for the Ziegenberg road approaching from the south-east. Much of this road was hidden under an extensive camouflage canopy suspended from the trees on each side. On the west side of the road, stretching for about 450 meters from a point just beyond Schloss Ziegenberg, there is a steep, wooded hill into which much of the original Anlage 'Adlerhorst' had been tunneled. Large wooden buildings were erected between the Schloss and the caverns. The Schloss, itself, which Goethe had visited from Frankfurt in another era, was used by the Oberbefehlshaber West, or OB West (Commander-in-Chief West), Generalfeldmarschall von Rundstedt as well as his successor in March 1945, Generalfeldmarschall Albert Kesselring.

Gasthof Adlerhorst in 1957 with the site of Hitler's bunker on the right.

Left: **FHQu 'Adlerhorst' Fuehrerbunker, nearly intact at the end of the war, was later completely obliterated by the Americans.** *Above:* **The villa is now situated partly on the Fuehrerbunker site.**

Left: **The remains of the RSD bunker photographed in 1945 and** *(above)* **the new house, built since 1966, which now occupies the same spot.**

'ADLERHORST' TODAY

Schloss Ziegenberg still stands at the beginning of the road to Wiesental where 'Amt 500' of FHQu 'Adlerhorst' was situated. However, the castle was never, at any time, the Führerhauptquartier — despite the occasional efforts of its post-war owners to sell it as such! The house which stands beside the castle, although constructed to a traditional German design, was only built by its present owner, Herr Kühl, in 1972. From his garden, one can see the demolished foundations of the bunkers once used by von Rundstedt and Kesselring. One massive bunker still stands below the castle beside the Wiesental road.

The abandoned 'Adlerhorst' was overrun by VIII Corps troops of the US Third Army about April 1, 1945, and the American correspondents who followed helped initiate the myth by erroneously identifying the Schloss as the Führer's 'hideout' during the Battle of the Bulge. British reporters, however, were more astute, correctly describing the primitive 'Amt 500' Wiesental bunkers as having been the heart of the former Führerhauptquartier.

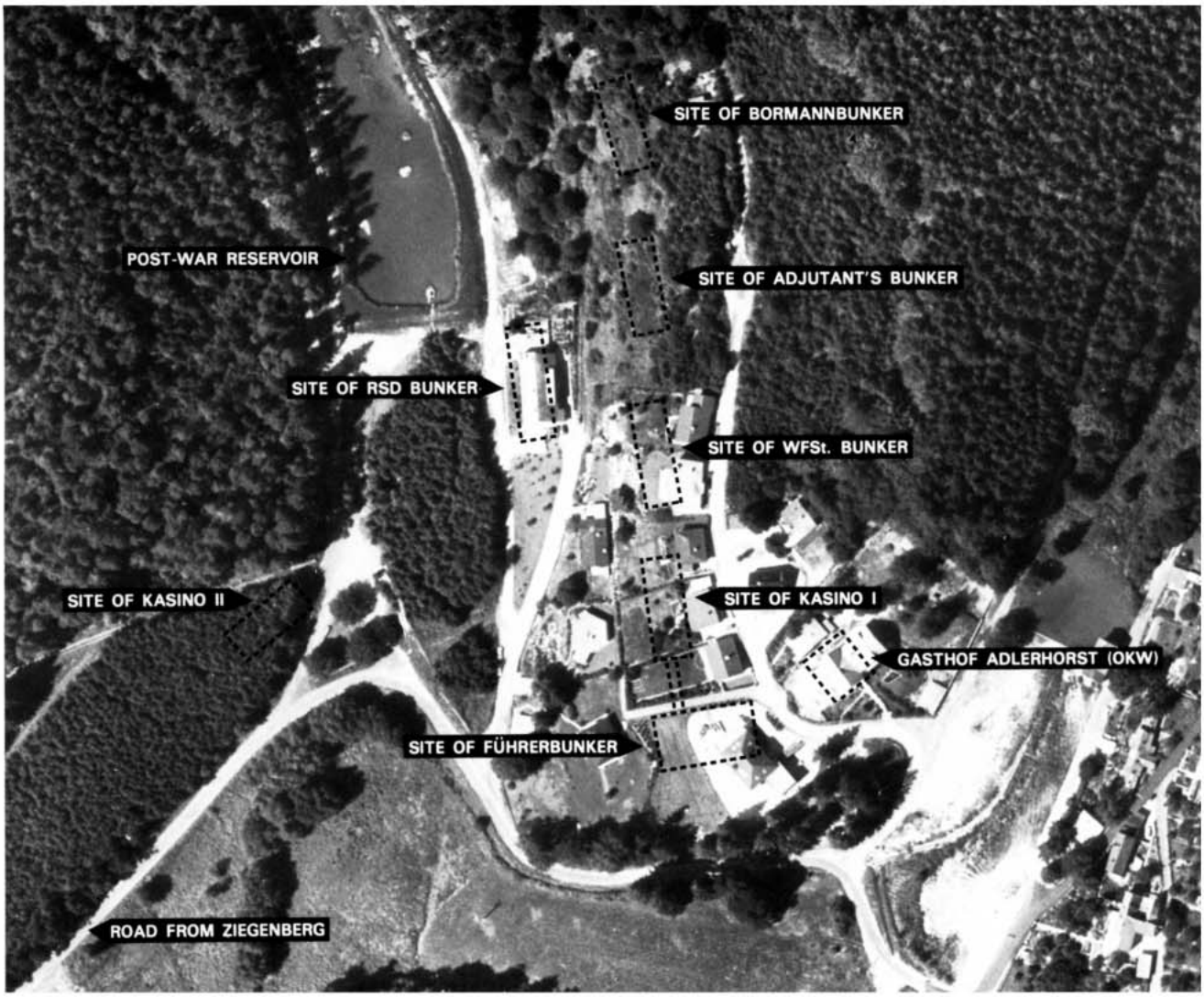
The 'Amt 500' bunkers were completely obliterated soon after the war by the Americans who occupied the region, and only vestiges of reinforced concrete can be seen on the hillside. The precise positions of the former FHQu bunkers are shown on the aerial photograph opposite, reproduced by permission of the Hessisches Landesvermessungsamt at Wiesbaden.

Only one original building remains today. The OKW building was salvaged, and eventually restored to become 'Gasthof Adlerhorst', by its present owner, Herr Kozuch. It was opened for business in 1957 and was considerably enlarged in 1966. One can still see in its cellar the thick walls associated with its heavy construction as part of the Führerhauptquartier complex. Since 1966 the land surrounding the Gasthof has been developed and villas constructed on the sites where the 'Amt 500' bunkers had once been. The one standing partly on the site of the former Führerbunker is now owned by Herr Thiel, an executive of the Chevron Company.

The caverns and tunnels which had been dug into the hillsides along the western side of the Ziegenberg-Wiesental road, just past the castle, are currently used by the West German Army for storage and cannot be visited.

NEAREST CONVENIENT HOTEL

Gasthof Adlerhorst, Butzbach-Wiesental/ 6309, West Germany.
Telephone: 06033 3324

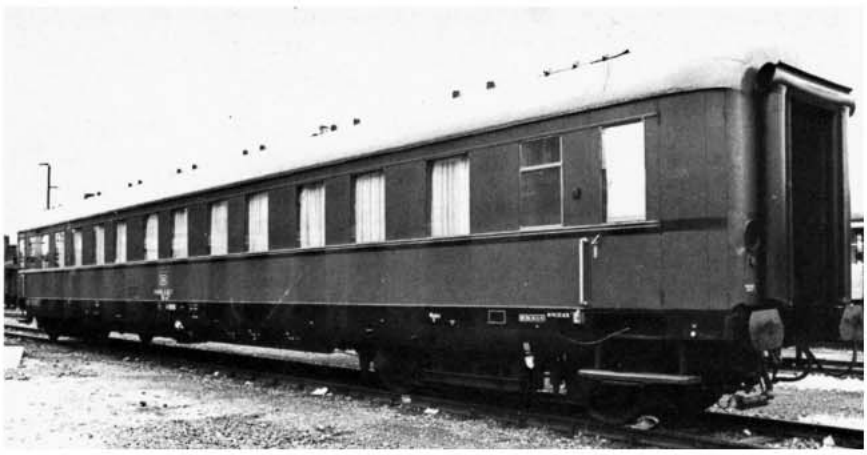


Above: **Wiesental, photographed in August 1974, showing the new houses which now occupy the site of FHQu 'Adlerhorst'.**

Fate of the Führersonderzug

Adolf Hitler used the Führersonderzug for the last time when, with 'Wacht am Rhein' having long since miscarried, he left FHQu 'Adlerhorst' at 6.00 p.m. on January 15, 1945 and arrived back in Berlin at 10.00 a.m. the next day. Except for a short visit by motorised column to the Eastern (Oder River) Front on March 11, he never again left the Reichskanzlei and Führerbunker deep under its garden. Their role as the last Führerhauptquartier remains to be described at another time as part of the story of the Battle of Berlin. When it had become apparent that Hitler would have no further use for Führersonderzug 'Brandenburg' it was moved from its regular Berlin-Tempelhof siding in the winter or early spring of 1945 to the south, eventually to Bruck, south of Zell am See, in the Austrian Alps. According to former Konteradmiral von Puttkamer, in late April/early May 1945, the train was used by the Chief of Operations Staff South near the southern end of the Tauerntunnel at Mallnitz. Either at Mallnitz or at Zell am See, as it was being moved north to Saalfelden in early May, the Führerwagen (No. 10206) was blown up, probably by Wehrmacht engineers. At Saalfelden parts of Himmler's Befehlszug 'Steiermark' were added to it, and it was divided into 'Brandenburg I' and 'Brandenburg II' just before the capitulation. Late in May the former Führersonderzug was switched to a siding at Pullach, south of Munich, where it was appropriated by the US Army. The American Secretary of State, James F. Byrnes, used at least one of its carriages when he travelled from Berlin to Stuttgart in September 1946.

In the 1950s, the railway carriages from the original Führersonderzug were returned to the new German State Railway authority, the Bundesbahn. It reports that all but one of the carriages has now been withdrawn from service. The last but one to go was the dining car No. 10245 (re-numbered 8840227) which was scrapped in June 1973. Today, although it is not generally publicised, the President of the Federal Republic still uses one of the sleeping carriages, No. 10222 (now 8940322) which was once part of the Führersonderzug built for a notorious predecessor, Adolf Hitler.



Coach No. 8940322 (formerly No. 10222) photographed at Cologne Hauptbahnhof.